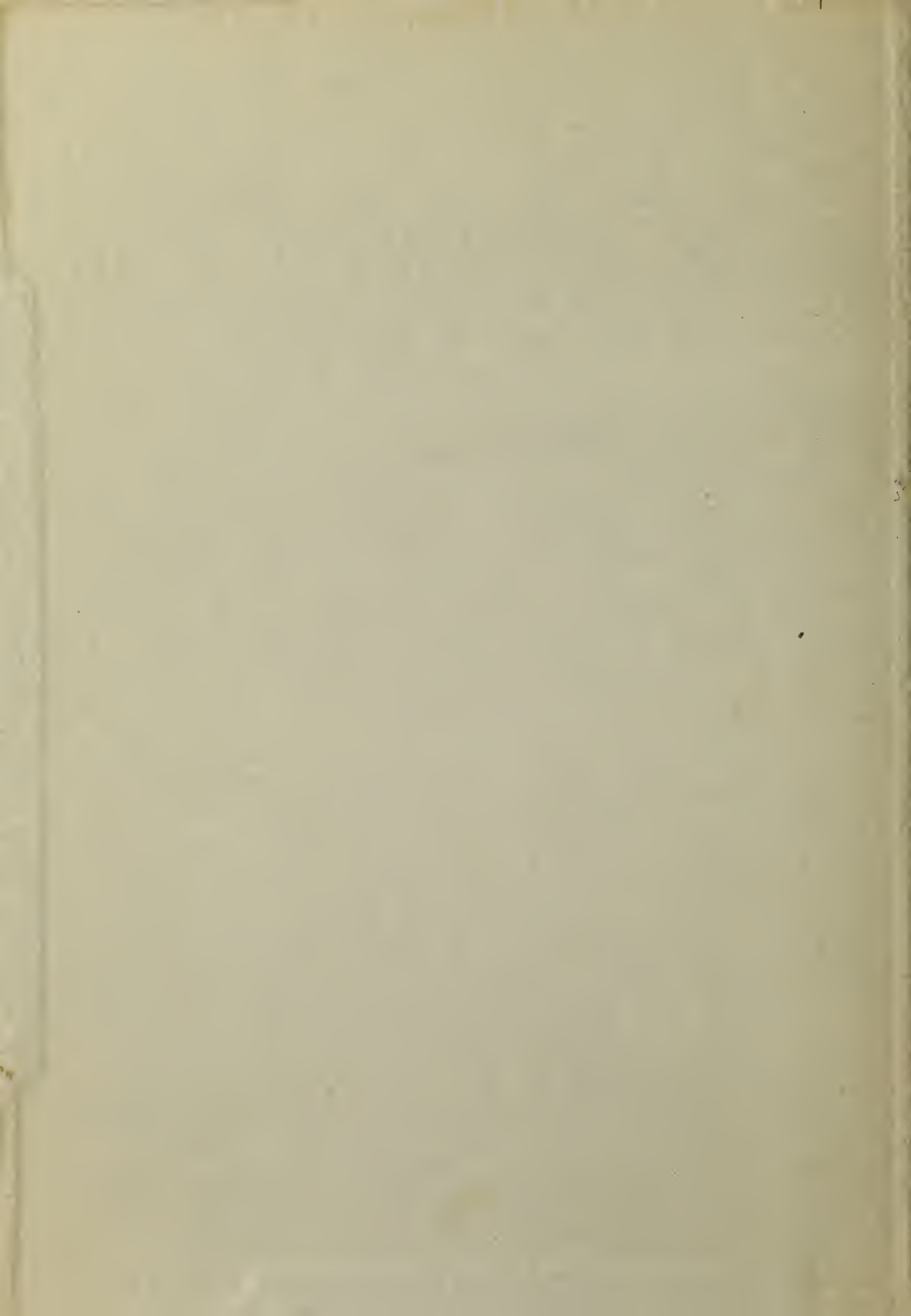


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Thesis

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN FRANCE from 1660 to 1760

By

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(Bachelier-ès-lettres, University of CAEN, France, 1924)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT IN FRANCE

(1660 - 1760)

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I.

INTRODUCTION

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I.

INTRODUCTION

I. General Plan of this Thesis.

The history of political thought in France between the years 1660 and 1760 is of particular interest and importance for this period includes the drastic evolution from the conservative 17th to the revolutionary 18th century. The influences brought to bear from the outside in order to produce this evolution and the reactions which took place within France itself form the content of this THESIS and explain the apparent leap from Catholic credulity to a new and argumentative scepticism in the French attitude.

English example was the most important outside influence on French political thought. It is our object to show how these new developments in Great Britain were indirectly reflected in France. We shall take the apparently sudden change in French thought occurring in the century 1660 to 1760, analyze it in detail and show that it is in reality a slow transition. The trends characteristic of the 18th century had already begun to take form in the latter part of the 17th century.

In the very year that the building of the Château of Versailles reached completion, England underwent her second revolution. What seems mere coincidence becomes, in view of what followed, a striking symbol. Louis XIV had retained so vivid a memory of the excesses of the Fronde that he had decided to abandon Paris as the traditional royal residence. Why, then, did not the people of Paris, usually so restless, excitable and prone to revolt, react immediately to such an innovation? The answer is that during this period religious, philosophical and political ideas were not, as a matter of fact,

widely spread as they are today. What we now term "public opinion" was at that time restricted to a well-educated and cultivated minority, the aristocracy and the well-to-do bourgeoisie. No wonder, then, that the full importance of the second English revolution in 1688 should not have been immediately realized by the people as a whole. Moreover, it could not be clearly foreseen in France that England, this neighbor of hers, was soon to become a maritime, colonial, intellectual and political rival, an increasingly powerful one, destined indeed to strike telling blows against the "Europe Française".

In consequence of the civil wars which had followed in the wake of the Reformation in the 16th century, the 17th century was a time of restoration and religious revival in France. The principle of the Monarchy was then put into discussion. Catholics and Protestants contested the traditional theory of the royal power upheld by the "Parlementaires", the divine character of the monarchical function was reinforced in order to combat the ultramontane tendencies which had followed the Council of Trent. On the other hand, the beginning of the 17th century saw also the revival of an intense religious fervor through such prominent personalities as Saint Francis de Sales, Saint Vincent de Paul, Berulle and Monsieur Olier. New religious orders were founded, old ones reformed. The general trend was characterized by a renewed Christian stoicism and the spirit of "libertinism", or moral laxity, became more and more the exception.

Beginning with the treaties of Westphalia (1648), France virtually eliminated her foreign rivals and exercised an absolute supremacy in Europe. The diffusion of French customs throughout Germany put an end to theological quarrels in that country and the extent of this influence was indicated by the fact that from the end of the 17th century the entire upper class in Germany became French by education and manners.

But the Revolution of 1688 in England was anti-French. Indeed, for the Protestant and radical English bourgeois, France was the Catholic country par excellence, the country of corruption, of vain elegance and of impiety. By way of contrast, William of Orange appeared as the champion of European Protestantism, of hatred against popery. Moreover, the French Huguenots, compelled by the Edict of Fontainebleau to become exiles in 1685, began, for their part, to play an important political role. A moderate minority among them refused, from patriotism, to plot against Louis XIV. However, this minority was to remain without influence upon the group as a whole. The majority, forming colonies in London, Rotterdam, the Hague, Berne, Zurich and Geneva, did not accept their situation as a "fait accompli". In each of these headquarters sprang up several personalities who labored at putting into facts the violence of their temperament, overexcited by defeat. (1)

A French historian and thinker, Paul HAZARD, explains that the last quarter of the 17th century is to be compared mutatis mutandis without fear of challenge to the Renaissance. He shows that what has often been disregarded as an obscure and rather tedious period in the development of political thought is in reality the time in which the basic principles which had been directing the faith, social ethics, art and the whole "weltanschauung" or outlook-on-life of Europe were first called into question and subjected to close scrutiny, if not to systematic analysis.

There are two reasons for the general failure to perceive this process. In the first place it must be remembered that the political writers who exerted the greatest influence upon their contemporaries are not necessarily the ones who are best remembered by posterity. The intrinsic value of their works

(1) DEDIEU, "Le rôle politique des protestants français", p.5.

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2. The second part outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical tools employed.

3. The third part presents the results of the study, showing the trends and patterns observed in the data. It includes several tables and graphs to illustrate the findings.

4. The fourth part discusses the implications of the results and provides recommendations for future research. It highlights the areas that need further exploration and the potential applications of the findings.

5. The final part of the document is a conclusion that summarizes the key points and reiterates the significance of the study. It expresses the hope that the research will contribute to the understanding of the subject matter.

is often obscured by controversy and changes in popular tastes. On the other hand the rapidity with which the new ideas were disseminated in the latter part of the 18th century tended to obscure the very slow process of elaboration in this period. (1)

In attempting to depict the main features of the evolution of political philosophy in France between the years 1660 and 1760, our standpoint is that these years represent, generally speaking, an ebb and a flow of interest insofar as English ideas were concerned. It was between 1700 and 1730 that English political and religious ideas began to spread through France and continued to spread more and more widely until 1748, when they were ingeniously systematized in Montesquieu's "L'Esprit des Loix". But immediately after this period, between 1750 and 1760, there was noticeable a violent chauvinistic reaction against this English political tradition.

Similarly, in 1660 the Royal Court, dominated by the strong personality of Louis XIV, held the lead of public opinion. As a natural sequence to the religious controversies which continued from 1660 to 1700, religion as such, a forbidden topic of discussion prior to this time, became a new and important one. Although persecution of the Protestants continued during the reign of Louis XV, the policy of coercion, established and practised by Louis XIV, no longer prevailed and the death penalty was no longer inflicted after 1762. During the first decades of the 18th century the influence of the Royal Court began to wane before that of the "salons mondains". About 1760 an even more important change was effected. The "mundane spirit" itself was menaced in proportion as the area of public opinion expanded. Henceforth, the ideas elaborated in the bosom of a small society were to spread through new social

(1) cf. Paul HAZARD, in "Revue des deux Mondes", Sept. 15, 1932, p.424.

classes and were destined to evolve in more and more rapid rhythm.

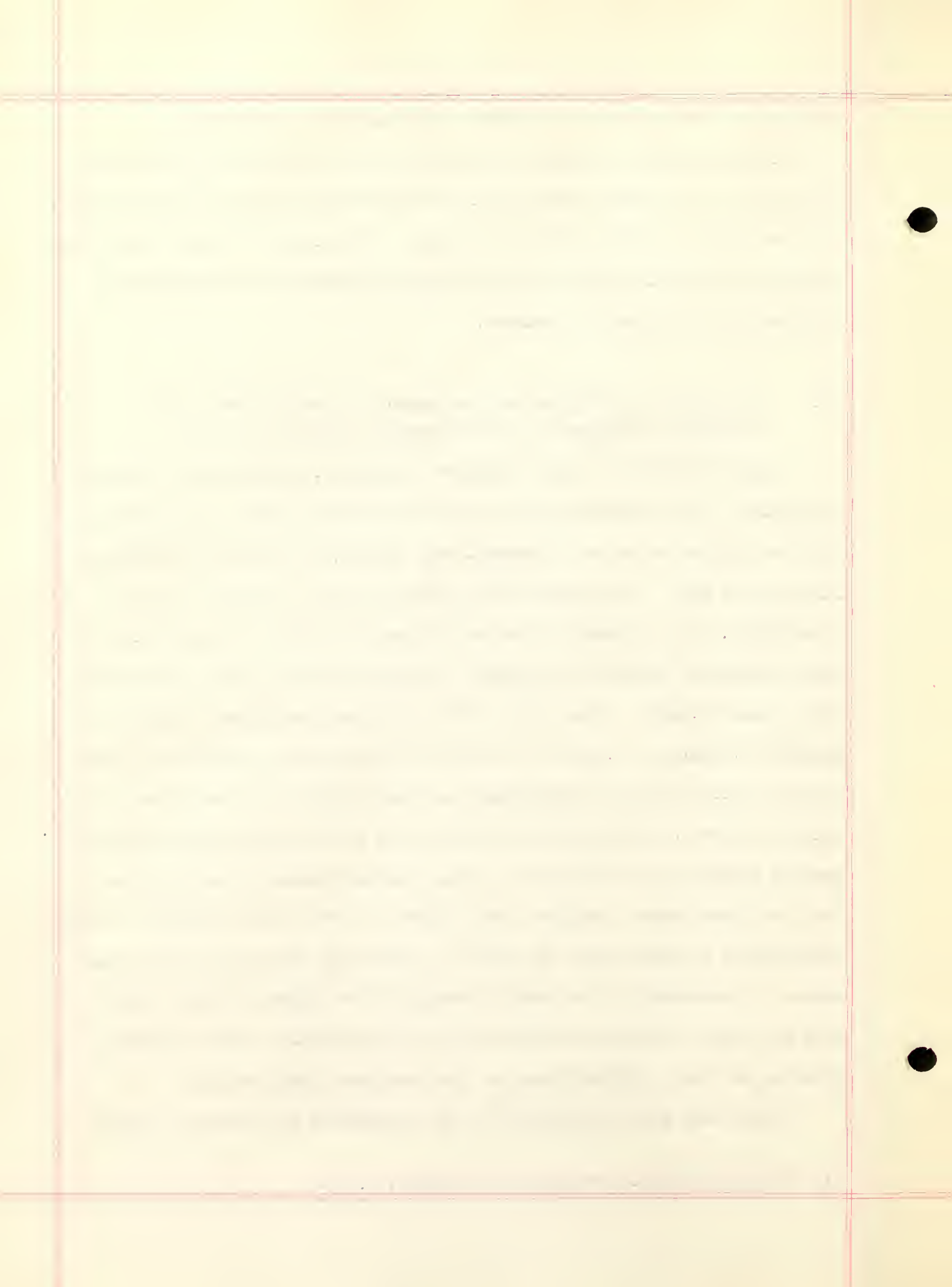
Briefly speaking, between 1660 and 1760 the transition is made between the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and the theory of the social contract. The Revolution of 1789, still in the future, was casting its shadow before it, although the starting point of what is called by MORNET its "intellectual origins" did not appear as distinct.

II. The social equilibrium and the "Misère de comparaison" - The Economic preëminence of the Bourgeoisie from 1660 to 1760.

Jacques BAINVILLE, in his "Histoire de France", written from a royalist standpoint, states concerning the reign of Louis XIV, "What is astounding is that the fifty-four years of internal calm during his reign are followed by seventy-five more. Our modern history does not offer a longer period of tranquility." (1) However, at the end of the 17th century the political regime, apparently unshaken, was hiding a constant striving after readjustment among social classes. From 1660 to 1750 the French bourgeoisie enjoyed a remarkable prosperity, whereas in the rural districts there prevailed a condition of distress and an impoverishment of the nobility. By the effect of a slow and silent evolution, from the end of the 16th century, the French bourgeoisie appeared more and more as a class clearly distinct from the others. This new class showed, together with a taste for intellectual culture, a growing ambition to mingle with the nobility through the exercise of State functions. It succeeded to the point of occupying the highest offices. From this new class come such celebrated writers as Corneille, Racine, Molière, Boileau, the best representatives of the so-called "grand siècle".

The growing social importance of the bourgeoisie was favored not only

(1) Jacques BAINVILLE, "Histoire de France", p.255.



by the growth of commerce, but the relative decline in agricultural prosperity. The price level of agricultural products and the value and rent of land dropped sharply from 1660 to 1750. (Some computations show a 40% drop in twenty-five years.) This meant a decreasing cost of living for the bourgeoisie in a period of rising incomes at a time when the income of both peasantry and landed nobility was reduced by falling prices. The situation was made worse for the peasants by the working out of the Malthusian principle. Since the 16th century the peasant population had been growing much faster than the land under cultivation, with the result that the standard of living had fallen much below the comparative well-being of the Middle Ages. True periods of agricultural depression varied with periods of comparative prosperity in the period 1601-1790 but the trend was on the whole against them. (1) The bourgeois were slowly gaining control of material force and purchasing power. (2)

The social status of the French middle class was far from expressing their economic significance. Equality of classes existed neither in fact nor in theory. Traders might aim at becoming either "rentiers" or state officials but they lacked the essential intellectual veneer. "Since they possess but little education, they are supposed to possess but little intelligence. Even so one wonders whether much intelligence is necessary for success in their trade." (3) The nobility despised these vile though lucrative occupations. It is this part of the bourgeoisie which provided models for the comedies of Molière. The bourgeois attempted to imitate the Court and the King and their unskilful snobbery was accordingly a cause for considerable mockery. As a result of the

(1) Joseph AYNARD, in "Revue des deux Mondes", August 15, 1933.

(2) cf. Georges d'Avenel, "La fortune privée à travers sept siècles",
Paris, 1893.

(3) Joseph AYNARD, op. cit.

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bigotry of Louis XIV, habits of luxury, bigotry and a tendency to live beyond one's income became more prevalent generally. Toward the end of the century a certain looseness in morals, which would not have been tolerated by the old bourgeois families fifty years previously, was very common in Paris. This period of transition is described in Molière's comedy, "Tartuffe".

"Every social distinction henceforth is about to be replaced by a hierarchy of fortunes. It will be impossible to prevent a rich man from attaining the highest honors. And as the fortune of the nobility comes mainly from the favors of the King, the bourgeoisie is about to put itself into the hands of the King in order to do as the nobility does. It will long for Paris, for the Court, for Versailles and Marly, those beautiful places where at times it is possible to see the King. The would-be gentleman will have but one dream - to know somebody who attends the Court. He will have but one terror - that his merchant's origin be disclosed. Though in the provinces farther removed the old spirit of distrust, of modesty and of religious austerity may continue to prevail, it is rare that the bourgeoisie of Paris are not seized by a desire to 'sortir de son état', whereas formerly it had expected only to 'assurer son état'." (1)

With this social urge are finally fused the main psychological traits of the bourgeois, such as they still appear in contemporary France. Though admittedly vain, even a little blustering, the French bourgeois is a hard worker, thrifty and home-loving. This man with a free mind, inclined to be censorious in politics, rebellious against sectarianism, began at this time to make himself felt and was particularly frugal as far as public expenses were concerned. The administrative frames of modern France may have been laid by

(1) Joseph AYNARD, *eodem loco*.

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Louis XIV, who may have had a real and detailed knowledge of France and of its interests, (1) still it remains that forty years of war meant in the long run the predominance of fiscal problems among domestic cares. (2) Direct taxes, increased chiefly because the output of indirect taxes was low, and the fall in prices already noted were the cause of the wretchedness prevalent in the rural districts and of the impoverishment of the nobility.

This wretchedness of the lower classes has given rise to contradictory but interesting explanations. There was indeed an existing ill-will amounting to rebellion as far as the payment of taxes was concerned. "Those who were not resisting managed openly so as either to defraud the public treasury or to be rendered exempt. In short, nobody was willing to pay." (3) The clergy and nobility, as privileged classes, had a vital interest in the regular payment of their tithes or of their feudal rents and if they were to be paid something had to be left to the payers by the royal treasury. They feared that the central power would take too much either from their vassals, their tenants or their parishioners. The representatives of the royal government, the so-called "intendants", obviously had not often an easy task in collecting the royal levies. Consequently, they endeavored to lighten for themselves this burden of the distribution and recovery of taxes. Like the clergy and the nobility, they dwelt on the bad economic conditions of their district, not for humanitarian reasons, of course, but in order that the tax on the people under their jurisdiction should not be impossible to collect.

Therefore, when we speak of the wretchedness of the lower classes, it is to be borne in mind that we refer especially to abnormal periods, namely

(1) VOLTAIRE, "Siècle de Louis XIV".

(2) Louis BERTRAND, "Louis XIV", p.242.

(3) Louis BERTRAND, "Louis XIV", p.347.

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those occurring in 1708, 1709, 1764 and 1765. The last twenty years of the reign of Louis XIV were characterized by many abuses; justice was indeed blind. The privileged classes were insolent and overbearing. Unfortunate wars, provinces devastated by armies, were causes of humiliation and of suffering. Nevertheless, "there was not really to be found a deep political malaise." (1) These material circumstances are commonly understood to be the basic origins of the French Revolution. Daniel MORNET, however, points out that "The essential causes have been, as usual, political causes; people wanted to change because they were, or thought themselves to be, materially wretched. No doubt the means and the aims of the change have been decided only because they had thought it over." (2)

This "thinking over" was followed up from the end of the 17th century onward by those who had leisure and aptitudes, that is, by the "hommes de lettres". The man of letters around 1700 is described by Emile FAGUET as one who belonged to a peculiarly inclusive class, - a class containing the lesser bourgeois, the greater bourgeois, women of the nobility, great lords and princes of the Church. All these met as equals in a kind of superior council called the French Academy. This class was not clearly defined but it existed, nevertheless. ... Every class wanted to become a power and the class of men of letters nurtured toward 1700 or 1720 the secret idea of becoming the spiritual power. (3)

These various underlying social and economic factors had to be indicated by way of introduction in order to draw a clear-cut line between the evolution

(1) Daniel MORNET, "Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française", p.17.

(2) Daniel MORNET, op. cit.

(3) Emile FAGUET, "L'Anticléricalisme", pp.92-93.

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of political theories and existing conditions. The latter represent only one aspect of the beginning of representative government and one application to a particular case - France - of the rise of the middle class. "From the English Revolution of 1642-49 to the Russian Revolution of 1905 the most characteristic political development in European society was the rising of the middle class against the absolute monarchs and the resulting evolution of parliamentary institutions and constitutional government. Early historians, such as Carlyle, Michelet and Bancroft, looked upon the French and American Revolutions as unique epics, but we know now that these, along with the English revolution of the seventeenth century, were but specific political manifestations of the growth of middle-class self-consciousness and power." (1)

III. The absence of striking and effective foreign influence on French political thought. (1660-1688)

Around 1660, France was intellectually self-sufficient. But from this date onward we see appearing in French writings a rather significant number of English words, especially phrases of political language or of religious controversy. Up to this time, the French had ignored English, a language spoken by a people whose creeds as well as whose political conduct they profoundly disliked. English books translated into French were rare, in comparison with those from Italian, Spanish or German. The only English writers known at this time to French people were those who had written in Latin, still the international language of scholars. The circulation of even these books was interrupted by censorship or by frequent wars. Bossuet was familiar with Hobbes' ideas but he was an exception. Bossuet declared in 1694 to Pont-

(1) Harry Elmer BARNES, "The History of Western Civilization", Vol. II, p.94.

chartrain, "Censorship from a religious or political standpoint may be fair, but what of the intercourse between men of letters?" (1) England was already counted as a decidedly learned nation; it is this which explains the regret expressed by the famous Catholic Bishop. The French cultured class as a whole had very superficial notions about English political institutions. To ignorance and scorn were added the feelings of prudence and an attitude of incredulity. Saint-Evremond lived in England but he does not seem to have had any real interest in the matter. Bossuet, though sympathetic to a certain extent, "put in the hearts of Englishmen this very submission to despotism he found in his own heart. Liberty, as it was to be found in England, was for him but an error." (2) Official opinion in France reflected the commonly held prejudices. French ambassadors at London lived in isolation. They ignored the political and intellectual activity and even the language of their country of residence. French travelers beyond the English Channel were such poor observers or so biased that their reports did nothing to destroy in France the legend of "the ferocity of Englishmen". (3)

These Frenchmen, it is true, did not feel at ease with the Britons. The good will of the latter was questionable. But their dislike was largely justified by the noisy and vain attitude of the French influx into London during the 17th century.

The average Frenchman, it seems, was struck mainly by the "instability" of English temperament. In this connection LE NOBLE, in his "Nouveaux Entretiens politiques", states, "The English mind is built in such a fashion that

(1) BOSSUET, "Correspondance ", Charles Urbain et Lévesque edit., 15 vol., Paris, 1909-1925. Vol. II, p.25.

(2) DEDIEU, "Montesquieu et la tradition politique anglaise en France" p.22.

(3) A phrase of Madame de Maintenon.

when he has a master he hates him; and as soon as he no longer has one, he wants one; always impatient as to the condition he is in, his one idea is to change it." (1) Britain simply appears as an odd and irregular nation.

"This extreme individualism is a perpetual surprise and a perpetual fear for the balanced Frenchman, who is a friend of consistency, even of conventionality; it colors to his eyes every defect and every quality of the mind and of the heart which he discovers in the English people; it explains to a certain extent why our authors have expressed singularly contradictory opinions concerning the English people." (2)

Nevertheless, for some French people English freedom was an object of astonishment. This very freedom was a cause for reflection and the origin of valuable comparisons, especially after 1672. The English King, called up to the treaty of Ryswick (1697) "King of England, Scotland, Ireland and France", appeared to French observers as endowed with unspeakable grandeur. The Chevalier de Grammont, a courtier of Louis XIV, was "surprised at the politeness and the splendor of England", though in everyday life the Prince was considered more approachable than was the King of France. "Frenchmen are not accustomed to such a familiar ease from the potentates of this world." (3) Another novelty was that the English subjects enjoyed freedom of speech. Englishmen felt free to discuss or even to criticize the Prince's decisions, his acts and his behavior, to express openly their disagreement or even better, to manifest it by a more eloquent silence. COURTIN wrote to Lionne in 1665, "There is this difference between the English King and the King our master:

(1) Georges ASCOLI, "La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française au XVIIème siècle", p.425.

(2) Georges ASCOLI, eodem loco.

(3) Georges ASCOLI, op. cit., p.340.

his Majesty can rule his subjects as he pleases, but the King of England must rank with his subjects." (1) He is pledged by oath on the day of his coronation to protect his people, to do them justice, to secure for everyone his rights and his legitimate liberties.

As far as the role of Parliament in English political organization is concerned, the astonishment of French observers does not prompt them at once to a true understanding attitude. "On account of mental habits of their own, Frenchmen at the outset see in Parliament - encouraged as they were by the tragic fall of Charles I - only a born enemy of royal authority, an attentive censor prone under any pretext to declare war on the King. ... When better informed, they realize quickly how useful to royalty is such an auxiliary in securing a fortunate balance of power." (2)

However strange English ideas may have appeared to some, English institutions nevertheless were endowed with an intrinsic grandeur which Louis XIV and his Court could not help but feel was disturbing. Among French ambassadors at London, the Comte de Comminges broke the tradition of aloofness and indifference. "He was, at the end of the 17th century, the only one perhaps who had a profound interest in the display of the political ideas of England. He most actively strove to inform Louis XIV and his Court, and what seems unusual he presented to them not only the idea but also the theory of parliamentary government." (3) His curiosity had to face a considerable number of obstacles; parliamentary debates, for example, were not public, a fact that undoubtedly accounts for the general ignorance in France of the life of Eng-

(1) Quoted by JUSSEFAND, "A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Second", 1892.

(2) Georges ASCOLI, op. cit., p.384.

(3) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.27.

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2. The second part outlines the various methods and tools used to collect and analyze data. This includes both traditional manual methods and modern digital technologies, highlighting the benefits of each approach.

3. The third part focuses on the role of the management team in overseeing the data collection process. It stresses the need for clear communication and coordination between different departments to ensure that data is collected consistently and accurately.

4. The fourth part discusses the challenges faced during the data collection process, such as incomplete data or discrepancies between different sources. It provides strategies to address these challenges and ensure the integrity of the data.

5. The fifth part concludes by summarizing the key findings and recommendations. It reiterates the importance of a systematic and transparent approach to data collection and analysis, and offers suggestions for future improvements.

lish Parliament. De Comminges did not quibble at the idea of buying spies; he read widely and at the cost of much patience and extraordinary effort he secured information from members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. In 1663, the idea that English political life was concentrated in Parliament was a discovery indeed. "Political discussions on parliamentary government invaded the palace of the absolute monarch. Louis XIV, who expelled Fenelon as being a too audacious thinker, and after all resistance was broken down, made his personal will supreme in the realm, did not object to debates about the greatness and the beauty of the English parliamentary regime. It was far-reaching. Camps were formed and disputes broadened among courtiers." (1) Such were the effects of the reports made by the Comte de Comminges. So far, he was not personally convinced of the excellence of the parliamentary idea. On the contrary, Parliament was viewed by him as a source of discords and parliamentary government as a challenge to reason. Accordingly, he declared in a letter written on April 22nd, 1663, "When I come to think that this country produces neither wolves nor venomous beasts I am not at all surprised. People here are wicked and dangerous. If it were necessary to protect one's self, the prudent policy would be to leave."

New ideas spread with difficulty. If they are of foreign origin they seem iconoclastic, or at least the reaction they produce is diversified. The fiscal problem in France at this time was at a crisis contrasting singularly with the general easy circumstances in England. The taxation system there was completely different and money was abundant. The English nobility was as well off as the French nobility was impoverished. Not forming a caste jealously guarded from a well-to-do bourgeoisie, English noblemen actu-

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.30.

ally carried on business, an activity considered in France as belonging properly to a socially inferior class. "This close relation of everybody in the general economy confuses Frenchmen; they are so little aware of these enterprises that every time one wants to talk a matter over with them it is necessary to define anew such words as 'company' and 'shares', which are foreign to his vocabulary." (1)

In short, during the years 1660 to 1688 England was not "fashionable" in France, but ignorance concerning this country was slowly being overcome. Just at the time when Spain, whose brilliance had been considerable, was beginning to sink into lethargy, things English roused curiosity. Spain no longer influenced French opinion; her intellectual vitality, her wealth and, as a result, her political prestige, had vanished. Italy, devoting herself mainly to learning and science, was not outside the scene of European affairs, but her political influence was negative. Apparently, French ideas no longer encountered rivals among Latin countries. Meanwhile, there occurred the most important phenomenon, perhaps, to be noted in European history, - the rise of England, a non-Latin country. (2)

The combination of these various external factors, the most important being the English influence, the internal situation and changes in social conditions in France will explain the evolution in the conception of the monarchical system as it is revealed in the writings of political theorists, literary writers and simple amateurs.

(1) Georges ASCOLI, op. cit., p.319.

(2) cf. Paul HAZARD, in "Revue des deux Mondes", Sept. 15, 1932.

II.

THE KING ABSOLUTE AND DIVINE EMBODIMENT OF THE STATE

(1660-1715)

1. Concept of sovereignty, a modern notion
2. Constitutional laws of French monarchy
3. Royal absolutism

I. "OMNIS POTESTAS A DEO" - A DEO REX, A REGE LEX"

Development of the political Gallicanism or religion of royalty

- (A) Before the Reformation
 - Philip the Fair and Pope Boniface VIII
 - Influence of Aristotle
 - Influence of Roman law
- (B) During and after the Reformation
 - Luther and Zwingli - their anticlerical policy extracted from the Scriptures
 - Huguenot adversaries of the secular power they had at first extolled
 - Problem of the sovereignty of the State
 - a) at the beginning of the 16th century: Francis I and the Turks
 - b) at the beginning of the 17th century: Richelieu and Protestant alliances
 - Bodin and the "Monarchie tempérée"
 - Reaction toward absolute monarchy after 1610
 - États Généraux of 1614
 - James I and Bellarmine
 - Evolution of French public opinion

II. "PER ME REGNANT REGES"

- (A) Political education of Louis XIV and personal conception of Monarchy ("Mémoires")
- (B) Influence of Hobbes
- (C) Bossuet - "La politique tirée des paroles de l'Ecriture Sainte" (1709)

II.

THE KING ABSOLUTE AND DIVINE EMBODIMENT OF THE STATE

Concerning the evolution of ideas as to the supreme authority in the State, an eminent historian of political thought, Charles H. McILWAIN has written:

"Among the characteristics of political thought to which we attach the word 'modern' none is more important than the conceptions, closely related to each other, of sovereignty, of the responsibility of the ruler, of adequate public sanctions for the enforcement of this responsibility and of nationality. ... The beginnings of sovereignty are to be found in the later Middle Ages, but the formal recognition of it had to wait for a clearer apprehension than yet existed of the significance of the appearance of nationality, the greatest of all factors which were remaking the political life of the West and changing it from a medieval into a modern world. ... The chief developments in the theory of monarchy in the later centuries of the middle ages are the result of the growing feeling of patriotism and of its concentration upon the King as the nation's political centre and the embodiment of its law." (1)

In France the Capetian dynasty, guided by the public interest, had been following a shrewd and positive method of government. From the 12th to the

(1) Charles Howard McILWAIN, "The Growth of Political Thought in the West", pp. 393-393.

See also J. LECLER, "Les théories démocratiques au Moyen Age", article in "Etudes", Oct. 5-Oct. 20, 1935; F. ATGER, "Essai sur l'histoire des doctrines du contrat social", 1 vol., Paris, 1906, and G. de LAGARDE, "La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen Age", (Vol. I, "Bilan du XIIIème siècle"), Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux, 1934.

15th century the constitution of the French monarchy, the "lois fondamentales", a practical adaptation to circumstances, had been determined and accepted by the kings as well as by the Estates of the realm. These fundamental laws were composed of a certain number of principles: royal heredity, monarchy as submitted to law and custom, royal succession determined in compliance with general law and custom, under the assumption that royal function was necessary to the life of the nation and would suffer no obstruction. The King could not dispose of the crown arbitrarily. He could neither abdicate nor change the order of succession. Crown lands could not be alienated; they were the natural support of the unity of sovereignty as well as necessary to the royal function and to the administration of the realm. The King did not hold the right of cession of national territory to a foreign power, unless it was approved by the General Estates. The King must be a Roman Catholic. All justice had its source in the King; he was independent of all other sovereignty, particularly that claimed by the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy.

These fundamental laws outlined above had never been abrogated. It is only during the 18th century that they have been contested. But the conception of sovereignty entertained during the reign of Louis XIV did not resemble the conception of sovereignty under Louis XI. Since the 16th century the prerogatives of sovereignty were no longer explained by historical development but theoretically justified. Royalty appeared henceforth as an abstract power, existing per se. The monarchical absolutism consisted in attributing to the State, as an entity, the whole national existence. The causes of this evolution were to be found primarily in national feeling: the King was the protector of the rights of his subjects against domineering factions. Under the influence of Roman law the command of national interest was

amplified and the doctrine of the "raison d'Etat" elaborated. Lastly, the Reformation was favoring a theocratic absolutism. As usual, anarchy, such as that which resulted from the religious wars, rendered desirable a governmental power capable of maintaining peace. However, "the execution of Charles I, brother-in-law of Louis XIII, seemed to forecast the end of monarchies, whereas the Fronde was the "revolutionary rush of the 17th century." (1)

Before the Reformation, the epoch of Philip the Fair had put officially before France and before the Papacy the two bases of the theory of divine right of Kings. God invests princes with royal power; there is neither initial contract nor popular delegation. "In spite of appearances, at the end of the Middle Ages, the doctrine of the two powers, as well as the real condition of their relations, remained in a condition of instability which two centuries of Papal successes could not conceal. ... If Pope Bonifacius VIII was a personal incarnation of the pontifical tradition of the Middle Ages, Philip the Fair incarnated a more ancient one, that of the Byzantine Empire, and this, in the midst of a Christianity purporting to restore the union of the two powers." (2) The religious cesarism had been challenged de jure and de facto under Philip the Fair. The independence of the State could be justified only by retaining its divine origin, whereas Christian mysticism unceasingly reminded secular authority of its religious mission.

In 1260 had appeared the first Latin translation of Aristotle's "Politics". This work contained a clear and consistent theory concerning the origin of the State and political society. This theory was not inspired by the Christian dogma, by the Catholic doctrine of the mystical body or by the

(1) Jacques BAINVILLE, "Histoire de France", p.209.

(2) Jean RIVIÈRE, "Le problème de l'Eglise et de l'Etat au temps de Philippe le Bel", Paris, 1926, p.60 and p.121.

universal royalty of Christ. In Aristotle's "Politics" was to be found the conception of the State as a superior and autonomous society. This society, to Aristotle, was not an artificial one, since it is the ultimate end toward which individuals, families and various human groups tend naturally. Human nature finds its full expansion in a politically organized society. So this theory justified the existence of the State by natural law alone, without the help of Revelation. It seemed also to grant to the State an absolute independence and sovereignty. Saint Thomas Aquinas, faithful to the Papal supremacy, was one of the first philosophers of the Middle Ages who used Aristotle. "The Thomist doctrine gave to the State an individuality, an autonomy which did not appear among former theologians; and for that reason, it must be acknowledged that it indicates a profound evolution as far as the relations of Church and State are concerned. But it rejoined the traditional standpoint because it emphasized energetically the subordination, the dependence of the secular power, in proportion to the requisitions of spiritual demands of human society." (1)

We see, for example, as far as the responsibility of the secular ruler is concerned, that to Saint Thomas "his prime responsibility is to God, the author of the law on which all authority rests. ... In the strictly legal sense he is 'absolute' in the ordinary administration of human law in his realm, within this sphere he is peerless and responsible to no man." (2)

In the Thomist school, the Aristotelian conception of the State was rapidly and generally maintained, as for example by James of Viterbo in his "De

(1) Joseph LECLER, in "Etudes", Dec. 20, 1930, p.671.

(2) C. H. McILWAIN, "The Growth of Political Thought in the West", p.330.

regime christiano" (1301). "James...accepts the priority of the State to Church in time, but ingeniously makes this itself one ground for holding the latter, prior and superior in essence, by applying to Church and State Aristotle's conception of the relation of the 'polis' to the village or household; and thus, making the Church the 'societas perfecta' of which the State is only an earlier, partial and undeveloped approximation." (1)

Up to the middle of the 13th century, it had still been admitted that the customary law was superior to the power of the King. "Le prince n'est pas sus la loi, mes la loi est sus le prince." (2) It is true that the axioms of the Roman absolutism "Princeps legibus solutus est", "Quidquid principi placet legis habet vigorem" were already known during the 12th and 13th centuries. But theologians, canonists and jurists were careful in limiting their application. However, little by little, these sentences came to be considered as an affirmation of royal absolutism. In the "Disputatio inter clericum et militem" (1296) the Knight maintained, "No one can make ordinances affecting things over which he has no dominion. The King of the French can't do it for the Empire, nor the Emperor for France. And if princes are not able to make enactments for your spiritualities, over which they have never received any power, neither can you make them for their temporalities, over which you have no authority. What you have enacted about temporals is worthless, for you have received no power from God to do it." (3)

As LECLER explains, concerning the ideas expressed in the "Disputatio": "Those words certainly express the actual situation of the French royalty at

(1) C. H. McIlwain, op. cit., p.260

(2) "Livre de Jostice et de plet", edit. Rapetti, Paris, 1850, p.6.

(3) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.243.

the beginning of the 14th century; but they give us information rather on the frame of mind of the jurists to the service of Philip the Fair; they specify their ideal which, within two or three centuries, will become a reality." (1)

So, during the later Middle Ages, when the legists used Roman Law in order to defend the prerogatives of French monarchy, we see Gallican theologians making the best of Aristotle's "Politics"; the most famous among them is JOHN OF PARIS and his "Tractatus de potestate regia et papali". John of Paris wrote as a philosopher and theologian and his political philosophy is largely based on Aristotle and Saint Thomas's interpretation of Aristotle. (2) But more than Saint Thomas he emphasized the independence of the civil power. Marsiglio of Padua, in his "Defensor pacis" (1324), forced the Aristotelian idea of the autonomous State to the extreme, that is, complete subordination of the Church to the State. "The great significance of the 'Defensor Pacis' is the fact that in it for the first time the secular State claims a practical equality which can be obtained only by a theoretical superiority. By the more extreme papalists, the State for some time had been treated as a subordinate department of the Church. The 'Defensor' is the first book which reverses the process and regards the Church as a department of the State in all matters of earthly concern. It is the first book in the whole long controversy which denies to the clergy coercive authority of any kind whatsoever, spiritual or temporal, direct or indirect. It must therefore be regarded as one of the real landmarks not alone in the history of the struggle between Church and State, but in the development of political thought as a whole. So far as content alone is considered, the two really epoch-making political

(1) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.260.

(2) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.263.

books appearing between 1300 and 1500 seem to be the 'De Potestate Ecclesiastica' of Egidio Colonna and the 'Defensor Pacis' of Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun." (1)

At any rate, during the 14th and 15th centuries, the national or local autonomies were developing. The moral result of the removal of the papacy to Avignon during the so-called Babylonish exile (1309-1377) was a decay in the moral influence of Papacy, while it was increasing its luxury and its taxation. The great schism of the West (1378-1418) struck a new blow to the influence of Papacy. The Councils which aimed at healing the schism failed in their object but they did establish the principle that the Popes were subordinate to the Council. It showed a return to the practice of the early Christians when councils were convened by the emperor and not by the Pope. The Council of Pisa (1409) was not so much an ecclesiastical council as a European congress. It is significant that at the Council of Constance (1414-1418) the vote was cast according to nations; and at the Council of Basle (1431-1443) by deputations. It appears that while theoretically associated, Church and State were in point of fact more and more antagonistic. "The concordats were in fact the price the Papacy paid for its victory over the Councils and it was a price heavier than appeared at the time. They were a tacit acknowledgment of the sovereignty of national States and mark the virtual end of the mediaeval theory that Christendom in its secular aspect is one great State as in its spiritual it is a single Church." (2)

(1) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.313.
cf. also George de LAGARDE, "La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen Age", Vol. II - "Marsile de Padoue ou le premier théoricien de l'Etat laïque" (2 vol., 1934.)

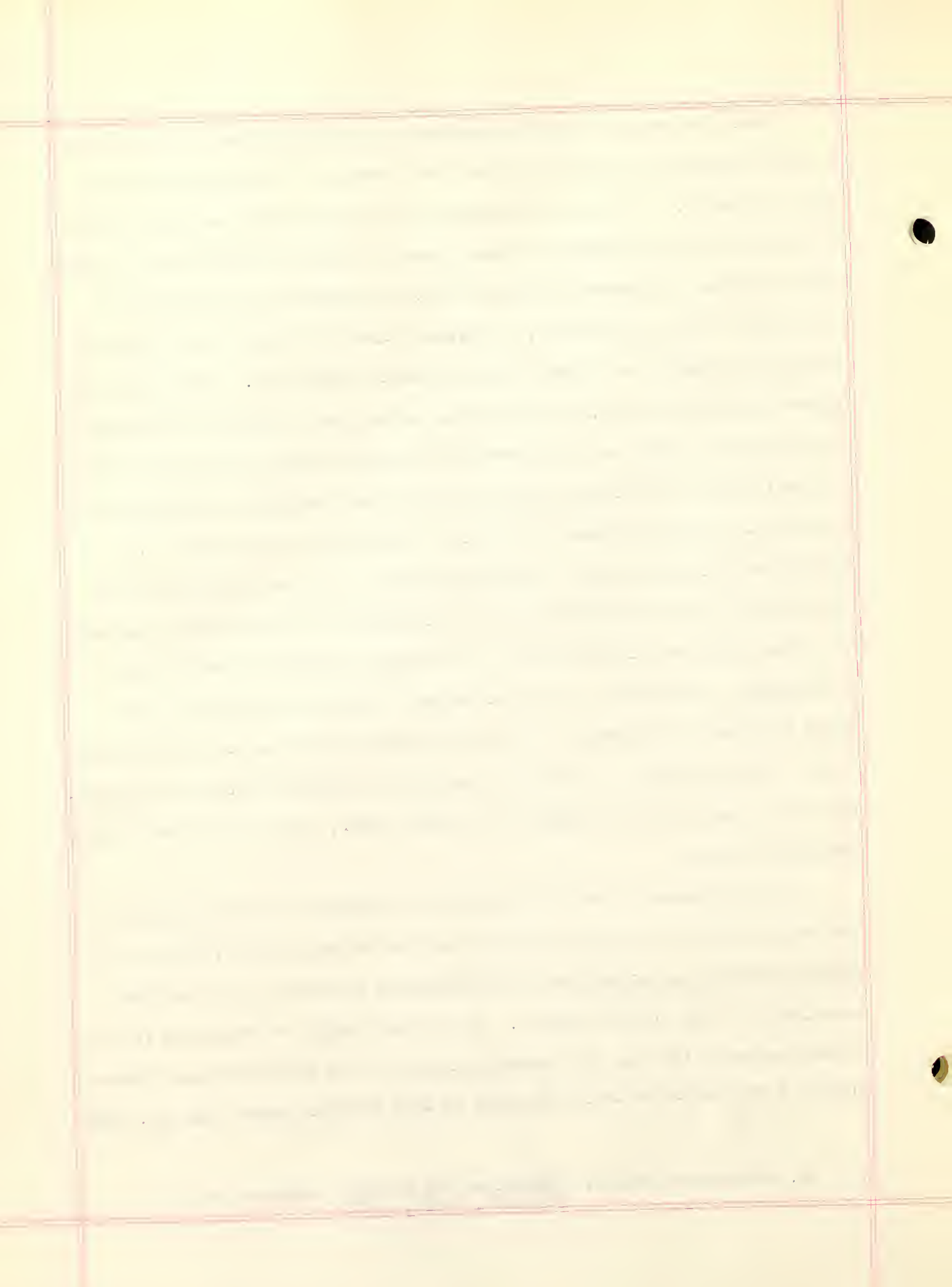
(2) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.352.



During the period of the Reformation the State disentangled itself from a system limiting its rights, ethics, law, remains of feudalism, and above all, the Church. Up to the Reformation, the secular rulers had been related to one and only one Church: the Roman Church. During the Middle Ages, princes had considered the numerous heretical sects as enemies to be exterminated. At the end of the 15th century, in Germany, those who applied for reform in the Church expected at the same time political restoration. Luther, who despised Aristotle and who, at the outset, was not much concerned with political questions, began to be interested in the State when he saw in it a living antithesis to the Church against which he was struggling. Zwingli saw in the revolt of Luther against the Church a liberation of the State. G. DE LAGARDE explains that Luther and Zwingli agreed as to the foundation of an anti-clerical policy extracted from the Scriptures. (1) For Calvin, the model of the State was the Roman State. He himself organized a Church-State, - a theocracy, - at Geneva. We are compelled, according to Calvin, to give blind obedience to authority. And this statement was supported by the Scriptures. But in France the Reform was cutting the national unity and the Huguenots were bound to find an enemy in the civil power, which had originally been extolled by them.

At the beginning of the 16th century the problem of the sovereignty of the State relative to natural and moral law was an up-to-date problem. The growing nationalism, stimulated by Machiavellian doctrines, was sacrificed shamelessly to the "raison d'Etat". The foreign policy in France was in apparent contradiction with the domestic policy and the old traditional ideals. Francis I contracted alliances starting in 1526 with the Turks, that is, with

(1) cf. Georges de LAGARDE, "Recherches sur l'esprit politique de la Réforme", Paris, 1926.



infidels, in order to counterbalance the power of a Charles V, a Catholic prince. It appears that Francis I followed the "raison d'Etat" as long as he struggled against the Emperor. But when peace returned, under the pressure of widespread criticism, he attempted to prove that, for him at least, the idea of the Crusade against the Sultan was still alive. And for a century the King found defenders, using mediaeval arguments. France, it was said, because of friendly relations with the Sultan, was not only better able to oppose hypocritical Spanish ambitions but was preserving peace within as well as outside of Christendom, protecting the Holy Premises against the Turks and at the same time protecting the Christians living among the Turks. (1)

When in June, 1624, civil war against the Huguenots was weakening the country, to the advantage of the alleged allies of France, Richelieu completed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Protestant Holland. Soon afterward, in 1625, the famous Cardinal was denounced by a multitude of libels issued by Catholics as the "Anti-Christ under the purple". The temporary peace with the Huguenots, in order to fight His Catholic Majesty of Spain, was to them simply a scandal. As during the preceding period, writings in behalf of the Minister were published. Richelieu, a theologian himself, had already solicited the advice of his colleagues concerning a matter so delicate as an "alliance with heretics".

What were the arguments of Richelieu against his adversaries? Scriptural quotations and legal defense, of course, were put forward. Also, the idea that politics was completely independent of religion. The submission of subjects to a prince is a law of natural order. The interests of the State and

(1) Joseph LECLER, in "Etudes", Feb. 20, 1933.

of religion are common. So, during the first part of the 17th century, "not only in France but in Italy and Germany people were discussing fully the mysteries of State and general politics." (1)

Bodin, at the Estates of Blois in 1576, had undertaken the defense of the liberal principle and in a preface to the later editions of the "République" (1576-1578) "he protests justifiably and with some heat that he alone among contemporary defenders of monarchy allows his 'sovereign' no proprietary right as to people, lands or goods." (2) Moreover, his idea of a "monarchie tempérée" was to be progressively abandoned. "Bodin's is a more moderate and a more mediaeval political conception than the theories of monarchy which thus replaced it, but it may well be doubted whether the views of any other theorist had such an influence on the political ideals of thoughtful and moderate men between 1576 and 1640, as those of Jean Bodin." (3)

Let us recall at this point that Henry IV was assassinated in 1610 and "after this last crime", as LACOUR-GAYET explains, "the patriotic pain of France was expressed by a movement of energetic reprobation against theories which seemed to have armed murderers." (4) And on June 8, 1610, the "De Rege" of MARIANA was burned by an arrêt of the "Parlement". JEAN SAVARON dedicated his "Traité de la souveraineté du roi et de son royaume" to the deputies of the nobility at the Etats généraux of 1614. It was then that the new formula of political Gallicanism was promoted by the Third Estate. The Cardinal du Perron, in two energetic speeches, stood out against the principle of an absolute monarchy. The King himself, Louis XIII, forbade the discussion

(1) Joseph LECLER, in "Etudes", Feb. 20, 1933.

(2) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.386.

(3) C. H. McILWAIN, op. cit., p.388.

(4) LACOUR-GAYET, "L'Education politique de Louis XIV", p.253.



of the matter. However, at the same time, whereas Bellarmine was maintaining in opposition to James I of England that divine power existed only through the intermediary of a human institution, the latter tried to prove that the power of Kings came directly from God. (1) It is significant that this thesis was to be the standpoint of Louis XIV and most of the Gallican theologians. After 1614, indeed, many Parlementaires published writings with a view to either approving, defending or explaining the suppressed proposition of the Third Estate at the Etats Généraux. The Assembly of the Clergy in 1625 (December 12) declared that the King was the direct delegate of God Himself. The Jurists, as a matter of fact, considered the King superior to mere men. "So, since the first part of the 17th century, though the authors of the celebrated article of 1614 have been officially silenced, the principle they intended to set up as a fundamental law of the realm had become, almost immediately after their apparent defeat, the fundamental law of French opinions. Parlementaires, legists, Protestant ministers, Catholic theologians, who were divided by so many questions and who, on the first occasion were bound to consider themselves enemies, taught at that time the same theories, almost in the same words, concerning the origin of the power of the Kings." (2)

It is important now to realize the importance of the influences exercised upon the youth of Louis XIV and his personal conceptions of monarchy. Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV, was a Spaniard, daughter of Philip III of Spain. The fact is significant in that she was better able than any other person to instil in the mind of her son a passion for authority and for religion. "Among personal influences exerted on his infancy and boyhood, none penetrated more

(1) cf. C. H. McILWAIN, "The Political Works of James I".

(2) LACOUR-GAYET, *op. cit.*, p.261.

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profoundly into Louis XIV or left more durable traces than the influence of Anne of Austria." (1) As to Péréfixe, his tutor, who became Archbishop of Paris in 1662, he insisted on concentration on kingly duties, using Henry IV as an example. The influence of Mazarin, on the other hand, was admittedly anything but good. Indeed, Mazarin has been supposed to have taught the King the worst Machiavellian principles. But, as Louis BERTRAND explains, "The descendant of the Bourbons and of the Hapsburgs was, at bottom, an 'égalitaire' like the Cardinal, this plebeian issued from the stable of a post-master, who later placed upon his escutcheon the fasces and the revolutionary axe." (2) The truth of the matter is that the governmental system of Louis XIV was not the work of Mazarin. Throughout the history of French monarchy the kings "had found, at every epoch, faithful collaborators among those who were themselves adversaries of the feudal aristocracy owing to historical throwbacks and social differences. ... The alleged lessons of Mazarin were the lessons of history." (3)

If we examine what Louis XIV himself wrote in his "Mémoires" we see that he was steadily convinced that his power came directly and absolutely from God. He did not admit any share in this authority on the part of favorites, prime ministers or of sovereign assemblies. He desired to keep to himself an absolute freedom of decision. "Madame de Maintenon herself, so skilful and so insinuating, does not dare propose directly to him what she wants." (4) Moreover, Louis XIV insists on the idea that the authority of a Prince is the authority of Reason itself, tempered by a realistic spirit.

(1) LACOUR-GAYET, op. cit., p.96.

(2) Louis BERTRAND, "Louis XIV", p.122.

(3) LACOUR-GAYET, op. cit., pp.113-114.

(4) Louis BERTRAND, op. cit., p.355.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861.

2. The second part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861.

3. The third part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

4. The fourth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

5. The fifth part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

6. The sixth part is a report from the Secretary of the State, dated January 1, 1861.

7. The seventh part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

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9. The ninth part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

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11. The eleventh part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

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16. The sixteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

17. The seventeenth part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

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19. The nineteenth part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

20. The twentieth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

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22. The twenty-second part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861.

23. The twenty-third part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

24. The twenty-fourth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

25. The twenty-fifth part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

26. The twenty-sixth part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861.

27. The twenty-seventh part is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861.

28. The twenty-eighth part is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861.

29. The twenty-ninth part is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861.

30. The thirtieth part is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861.

"Il y a toujours du mal, pour le public, à contrôler qu'à supporter même le mauvais gouvernement des Rois, dont Dieu seul est juge. ... Ce qu'ils semblent faire quelquefois contre la loi commune est fondé sur la raison d'Etat - la première des lois par le consentement de tout le monde mais la plus inconnue et la plus obscure à ceux qui ne gouvernent pas." (1)

Louis XIV possessed the true consciousness of his responsibility. To him a King must have a concrete and detailed knowledge of the conditions of the realm and of other nations. With the present, he must know the past.

"Je considérerais que la connaissance de ces grands événements, étant digérée par un esprit solide, pouvait servir à fortifier sa raison dans toutes les délibérations importantes." (2)

Finally, Louis XIV was convinced that justice was the main royal virtue. The personal conception of the State of Louis XIV was "A 'laïque' and equalitarian State - equalitarian in that sense that birth does not count as much as personal merit - a State organized by reason and by science and aiming at an exploitation and constant embellishment of national resources." (3)

No doubt Louis XIV was a realist and his opinions committed to paper at the end of his long reign can be easily explained by the circumstances. After the Fronde he appeared as a saviour to the French opinion at large and "there was rarely in the history of any State so harmonious an agreement between its members as in the France of 1661." (4)

To return to the development of political thought in the years prior to the determination of ideas concerning the divine right of Kings, Pierre DE MARCA's "De Concordia sacerdotii et imperii, seu de libertatibus ecclesiae"

(1) Quoted by Louis BERTRAND, op. cit., p.386.

(2) Quoted by Louis BERTRAND, op. cit., p.338.

(3) Louis BERTRAND, op. cit., p.341.

(4) LACOUR-GAYET, op. cit., p.207.

gallicanoe" (1641), was a treatise dealing mainly with the relations of Church and State and was an answer to Pierre DUPUY's "Traité des droits et libertés de l'Eglise gallicane", which had appeared in 1639. De Marca's book was published four times between 1641 and 1704. Antoine CHARLAS stood out against the official theologian, saying that royal authority came directly from the consent of the people, though its first source was in God. "It was a common thing among authors of political treatises to settle a comparison between the main forms of government, democracy and aristocracy, in favor of the latter." (1) BOSSUET, in a sermon preached in the Louvre on April 2, 1662, extolled the grandeur of royalty and of Kings, the rights of kingship being seemingly determined by the laws of the Eternal Wisdom and the choice of the royal persons being an act of Providence itself. The royal character possesses a sanctity which no crime can efface. On the other hand, Bossuet insisted on the duties of a King and courageously pointed out to the young Louis XIV the fact that people were starving at the gates of the Louvre.

In this same period, the political conceptions of the Englishman, Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), were found to be adapted to French problems and became popular. Samuel SORBIÈRE translated Hobbes "De Cive" into French in 1641. Francois BONNEAU made a second translation of Hobbes in 1660 and dedicated his "Les éléments de la politique de Monsieur Hobbes" to Louis XIV.

Bonneau was so enthusiastic over Hobbes' theories that he suggested they should be taught officially in France. He failed in this effort but the influence of Hobbes continued to be influential in France for at least a quarter of a century. Elie MERLAT, a Calvinist minister, used the arguments of Hobbes in his "Traité du pouvoir absolu des souverains" (1685). An anonymous

(1) LACOUR-GAYET, op. cit., p.290.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is crucial for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part outlines the specific procedures for recording and reporting these activities. It details the steps involved in data collection, analysis, and the preparation of reports for management review.

3. The third part addresses the role of the audit committee in overseeing the financial reporting process. It highlights the committee's responsibility for ensuring that the information provided to the board of directors is reliable and complete.

4. The fourth part discusses the importance of internal controls in preventing and detecting errors or fraud. It describes how a robust system of internal controls can help the organization achieve its financial goals while maintaining integrity.

5. The fifth part provides a summary of the key findings and recommendations from the audit. It identifies areas where improvements are needed and offers practical suggestions for implementing these changes.

6. The final part of the document concludes with a statement of the audit team's commitment to providing high-quality service and maintaining the highest standards of professional conduct.

writer brought forth "Essais de morale et de politique", printed with the permission of the King. Lacour-Gayet has expressed the opinion that if Hobbes had lived at the time when the "Essais" were published he would have been happy to see his thought so well understood and faithfully summarized. (1)

"The Gallican Bossuet was flattered to find in this Englishman (Hobbes) a simultaneous and similar foresight as to the great danger to Christian society existing in the omnipotence of the Holy See." (2) Moreover, but in a different line of ideas, Bossuet concurred in Hobbes' irritated distrust of the fallen and irremediably perverse nature of man. Meanwhile, he endeavored to prove that goodness and compassion must balance the apparent severity of absolute power. Bossuet submitted himself easily to the influence of Hobbes, not only because he was a sincere admirer of an autocratic King such as Louis XIV but also because Hobbes' philosophy was in intimate agreement with his own temperament, indifferent as he was to Utopian dreams and pure metaphysics.

Bossuet's "La politique tirée des paroles de l'Ecriture sainte" was begun in 1678 and was destined to be a course of politics "ad usum Delphini". He revised it himself in 1693 but it was not published until 1709, after his death, by his nephew, by whom some additions were probably made. Because he was a sincere Christian, Bossuet was convinced that religion ought to provide a solution to every problem, even of a social and political character. He was directly and truly impressed by the French administrative machine, of the monarchical centralization which he was able to see operating between 1670 and 1680. (3) Moreover, he was informed on the writings of Locke, Spinoza

(1) cf. LACOUR-GAYET, op. cit., p.288.

(2) REBELLIAU, "Bossuet", p.97.

(3) REBELLIAU, op. cit., p.96.

and Grotius to the point that under the pressure of political events in France and in England he deemed it advisable to protect the future King against ideas which he held subversive. In short, he was well versed both in ancient and in modern history.

Bossuet's "La Politique", which shows Aristotle's influence, can be analyzed as follows: the principles of society depend upon a fundamental truth, namely, that man is made to live in society. This fundamental truth explains civil society, the government, the laws, the feeling of humanity, and patriotism; this fundamental truth itself is in its turn related to an anterior notion: men have but one end and one object, God. From this premise are derived reciprocal charity, universal brotherhood, the duty of mutual assistance, the concept of commonweal. These are the essential foundations of every human society.

"Nous voyons donc la société humaine appuyée sur ces fondements inébranlables; un même Dieu, un même objet, une même fin, une origine commune, un même sang, un même intérêt, un besoin mutuel tant pour les affaires que pour la douceur de la vie." (Livre I, Prop. 6.)

From these principles Bossuet, without excluding any other form of government, inferred the superiority of hereditary monarchy, from male to male and from first-born to first-born, the only limitations to the royal authority being God and man's reason.

"Qu'on ne vous tourne point; tournez-vous vous-même avec connaissance: que la raison dirige tous vos mouvements; sachez ce que vous faites et pourquoi vous le faites." (Livre V, Prop. 1.)

The two former limitations which are at the same time guarantees of happiness for the subjects, do not imply that the latter have a right to revolt against the King. Their duty is to await Divine judgment, which is supposedly inevitable.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical analysis performed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study. It includes a series of tables and graphs that illustrate the findings of the research. The data shows a clear trend of increasing activity over time.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It suggests that the results have significant implications for the field of study and may lead to further research in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes the study. It summarizes the main findings and provides a final statement on the importance of the research.

"Chaque peuple doit suivre comme un ordre divin le gouvernement établi dans son pays, parce que Dieu est un Dieu de paix et qui veut la tranquillité des choses humaines. ... Dieu prend sous sa protection tous les gouvernements légitimes en quelque forme qu'ils soient établis; qui entreprend de les renverser n'est pas seulement un ennemi public, mais encore un ennemi de Dieu." (Livre II, Prop. 12.)

In regard to Bossuet's opinion, Rebelliau has noted the following: "With all the good-will in the world, was it possible to utilize in a great modern country the feudal form of government, such as that utilized by this little Jewish people, assembled within a small space and divided into tribes? When he contends that the monarchical system is superior to every other form of government, he was in contradiction with the Bible, though he referred to it as his authority."

Bossuet's political thought is completed by the fifth "avertissement aux protestants", in which he made answer to Jurieu's conception of popular sovereignty. (1)

"S'imaginer maintenant avec M. Jurieu, dans le peuple considéré en cet état, une souveraineté, qui est une espèce de gouvernement, c'est mettre un gouvernement avant tout gouvernement, et se contredire soi-même. Loin que le peuple en cet état soit souverain, il n'y a même pas de peuple en cet état. ... Il ne peut y avoir de peuple, parce qu'un peuple suppose déjà quelque droit établi; ce qui n'arrive qu'à ceux qui ont déjà quelque chose qui réunisse quelque conduite réglée et quelque droit établi; ce qui n'arrive qu'à ceux qui ont déjà commencé à sortir de cet état malheureux, c'est-à-dire de l'anarchie. ... "

To Bossuet, Jurieu is simply illogical. He goes on to say concerning the origin of sovereignty:

"Elle se forme et elle résulte de la cession des particuliers, lorsque fatigués de l'état où tout le monde est le maître et où personne ne l'est, ils se sont laissé persuader de renoncer à ce droit qui met

(1) JURIEU's ideas are presented later.

tout en confusion, et à cette liberté qui fait tout craindre à tout le monde, en faveur d'un gouvernement dont on convient."

Jurieu had questioned Bossuet as to why people had made Kings so powerful. Bossuet replied that even the freest people have, of their own accord, limited their freedom in order to secure certain advantages and to prevent certain dangers.

"Car un peuple libre a souvent besoin d'un tel frein contre lui-même, et il peut arriver des cas où le rempart dont il se couvre ne sera pas assez puissant pour le défendre, si lui-même le peut forcer."

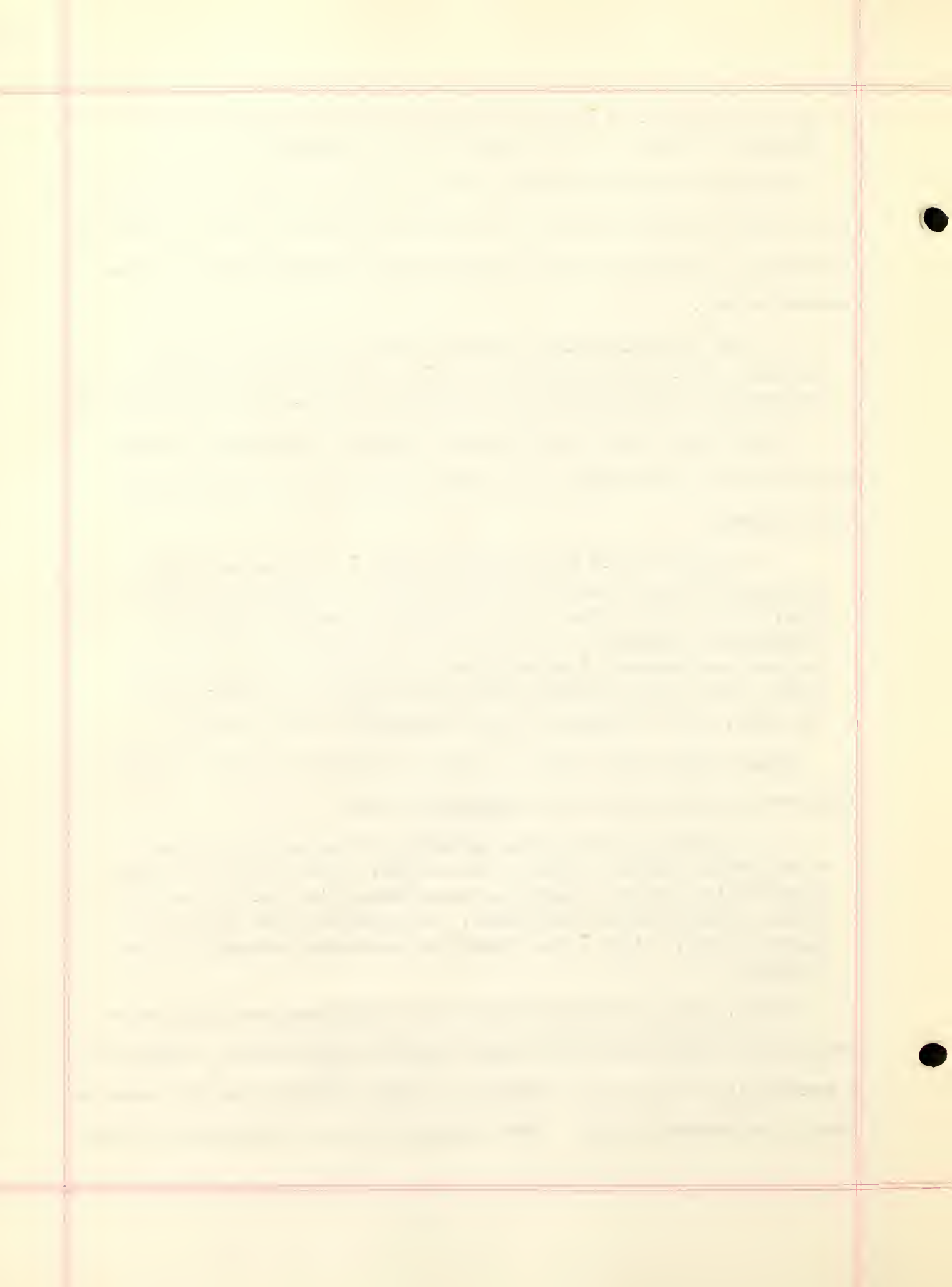
A people must protect itself against dangerous evolutions. The most natural limit of sovereignty is the reciprocal interest of rulers and of their subjects.

"Le peuple forcé par son besoin propre à se donner un maître, ne peut rien faire de mieux que d'intéresser à sa conservation celui qu'il établit sur sa tête. ... Le peuple doit considérer comme un avantage son souverain tout fait. ... De cette sorte ce n'est pas toujours abandonnement à la faiblesse, de se donner des maîtres puissants, c'est souvent, selon le génie des peuples et la constitution des Etats, plus de sagesse et plus de profondeur dans ses vues."

Bossuet insists that after all, those who flatter the people are but flatterers of tyrants and in turn establish tyranny.

"En parcourant toutes les histoires des usurpateurs, on les verra presque toujours flatteurs des peuples. C'est toujours ou leur liberté qu'on leur veut rendre, ou leurs biens qu'on leur veut assurer, ou leur religion qu'on veut établir. Le peuple se laisse flatter et reçoit le joug. C'est à quoi aboutit la souveraine puissance dont on le flatte."

Bossuet, as far as this last statement is concerned, was right and no doubt modern history could afford many practical illustrations. Bossuet was a conservative and he was not prepared to foresee changes which were bound to come in the immediate future. These changes were to be accomplished through



the impact of foreign influences, the philosophian or practical and rational politics developing in France and evolving progressively the concept of popular sovereignty against the proud theory of a supreme ruler by the grace of God. Meanwhile, Church and State problems took quite a different aspect: within and outside of the Church ideas of toleration and separation were forwarded, aiming either at the refusal to the State of the unconditional support of the Church, or at the denial to the Church of the right of interference in the affairs of the State.

III.

CHURCH AND STATE BEFORE THE EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU

(The King protector of a powerful but submissive Church)

(1660-1685)

1. The importance of religious problems during the second part of the 17th century;
2. Personal attitude of Louis XIV toward religion.

I. NATIONAL RELIGIOUS INDEPENDENCE AND CATHOLIC
UNITY AND ORTHODOXY

- (A) - Gallicanism
- (B) - Jansenism

II. RELIGIOUS UNITY AND NATIONAL MONARCHY

- (A) - Huguenots and attempts of theological persuasion - Bossuet
- (B) - Huguenots and political coercion: the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685)

III. THE EUROPEAN CONSCIOUSNESS OF RELIGIOUS
SCHISM: BOSSUET AND LEIBNITZ

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CHURCH AND STATE BEFORE THE EDICT OF FONTAINEBLEAU

(The King protector of a powerful but submissive Church)

(1660-1685)

In order to understand the importance of the trend from divine right monarchy to the sovereignty of the people, one must remember that during the second part of the 17th century all political problems continued to be discussed from their religious aspect. The prime concern of thinkers and writers was still the true faith. "If one should consult appearances only, the Reformation, far from dissociating the Church from the State, has in reality strengthened their union; apparently it has accelerated this domination of State over the Church, which was already evident during the former period." (1)

In countries with a Catholic majority, especially in France, the royal political and religious absolutism had been growing more slowly. The Papacy and Protestantism, though mutually opposed, had a common objection to the growth of royal absolutism and were successful in limiting its growth. "It is significant that Bossuet should have conducted his controversies with ministers of the 'Religion réformée' together with his defense for the 'Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane' and the quarrels of Louis XIV with Pope Innocent XI should have been coincident with measures against Protestantism." (2)

Theoretically, Louis XIV and his Gallican counsellors, such as Colbert and Le Tellier, did not desire a confusion of the spiritual and the temporal powers. The King was opposed to clerical interference with the State's af-

(1) Joseph LECLER, "Etudes", Dec. 20, 1930.

(2) Jacques BAINVILLE, "Histoire de France", p.225.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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fairs and at least during the first years of his reign he himself left questions of a spiritual nature alone. In practice, Louis XIV was more the politician than the theologian, although certain religious questions did trouble him. The Inquisition was one of his problems. "In parts of the country where it existed still, as in Roussillon, he attempted at once to suppress it, in spite of the resistance of the Holy See and of the interested parties - and he actually did suppress it. His purpose was above all that religion should not influence national policies." (1) Religious strife, as far as the King was concerned, meant, for the State, a house divided against itself. Protestants sought refuge with other countries. Jansenists and quietists divided the realm within. Consequently, the power of the State to resist internal dangers was weakened. Louis XIV was too much of an autocrat not to try to bring spiritual forces under subjection. He succeeded, but only to a limited extent.

Through an apparent inconsistency, Louis XIV never insisted so much on his title of "fils aîné de l'Eglise" as when he was in conflict with Papacy. "Royalty, a temporal power, shows a predilection for ecclesiastical titles; the monarch is 'l'oint du Seigneur', 'l'évêque du dehors', 'le très chrétien', 'le fils aîné de l'Eglise', he is a canon in several cathedrals and a collator of ecclesiastical privileges. All this proves his piety and his love for the Church but his temporal and spiritual ambitions find their advantage out of it: 'l'oint du Seigneur', and the 'évêque du dehors' does not feel many scruples when interfering with spiritual affairs; the 'fils aîné de l'Eglise' sees in this eminent quality a new motive for exalting his political prestige." (2)

(1) Louis BERTRAND, "Louis XIV", p.371.

(2) Joseph LECLER, "Etudes", Jan. 20, 1933.

SABATIER, a French Protestant, remarked that "the two most noble forms which Catholicism has ever known, the Jansenism of Port-Royal and the Gallicanism of Bossuet, were in reality semi-protestant." (1) G. HANOTAUX considers Louis XIV's Gallicanism as a "formula of abatement", a "transaction" with Protestantism. (2) Fernand MOURRET, as Catholic historian of the Church, sees that "the Gallican frame of mind, made of a distrust toward Rome and of an excessive attachment to a religious national autonomy is not without an analogy with one of the most essential characteristics of the Protestant spirit." (3)

If it were limited to such sweeping statements, the religious policy of Louis XIV would appear as a rather confusing one. To understand its true meaning, one must connect it with its immediate past and consider it as a legacy of preceding developments. When Richelieu came into power, this great minister of the monarchy, a high dignitary of the Church and an astute statesman, had to face realities as they had been created by a religiously divided realm. To discover a modus vivendi between rival factions was his main purpose. In October, 1625, he took action energetically against certain slanderous writings inspired by a fanatic Gallicanism. He sought a new doctrine concerning the relations of Church and State, with a view of bringing a definitive settlement of this arduous problem. A scholarly magistrate, Pierre de MARCA, published in 1641 his "De Concordia Sacerdotii et imperii", the primary aim of this book being to further Richelieu's ideas. No reference is made either to the conciliatory thesis or to the divine right of Kings theory. The author prudently limits his ambition to a defense of the infallibil-

(1) SABATIER, "Religions of Authority", p.153.

(2) G. HANOTAUX, "Histoire du Cardinal Richelieu", T. II, p.17.

(3) F. MOURRET, "Histoire générale de l'Eglise", T. VI, p.301.

ty of the Church. But the "De Concordia Sacerdotii et imperii" was condemned by the Court of Rome at two reprisals, on April 7th, 1742, and on November 5th, 1764. Meanwhile, Michel RABARDEAU, a Jesuit, published "Optatus Gal-lus", a book which advocated a patriarchate for the Church of France. In view of what has been already noted, the question is raised as to what extent both writers, DeMarca and Rabardeau, had been the spokesmen of Richelieu. As far as DeMarca is concerned, Fernand MOURRET points out that "passages too favorable to the Sovereign Pontiff have been cancelled" (1), and affirms that an examination of the "De Concordia Sacerdotii et imperii" manuscript leaves a clear impression of Richelieu's influence. As to Rabardeau, the same his-torian states, "It has never been known exactly whether the idea sent into circulation by friends and collaborators of Richelieu of turning the Church of France into a Patriarchate, with a Minister-General as chief, was but a skilful manoeuvre to intimidate the Court of Rome, or whether this scheme was serious." (2)

At any rate, when Louis XIV inaugurated his personal government in 1661 Gallicanism was not a novelty. "The Great Cardinal intended this Gallicanism as a means of appeasement; Louis XIV was ready to use it as a hostile weapon." (3)

Up to this time ecclesiastical Gallicanism was not a homogeneous doctrine. Long-time experience and practical observation had built it up. The so-called "libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane" "were defining the situation of the national Church in its relation to power and to law. In point of fact, should the Gallican church ever have swung away from papal dominance, this

(1) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.306.

(2) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.307.

(3) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.308.

dominance would have been taken over by royalty." (1)

With his book "La preuve des libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane" (1639), Pierre DUPUY had aimed at fixing and demonstrating the doctrine already embodied in the nine-three rules or maxims dedicated by Pierre Pithou to Henry IV in 1594. The writings of Pierre Dupuy, at first banned, had been republished in 1651 with the royal sanction. This movement, the beginnings of which are to be found in the royal ordinances of the 14th and 15th centuries, was presented in a codified form by the year 1682. The end of the 17th century draws to a close a lengthy, speculative and polemical phase of Gallicanism. What was, generally speaking, mainly a frame of mind, was now embodied in a legislative formula. In view of his autocratic leanings, Louis XIV was inevitably destined to be the leader of this type of Gallicanism.

The Gallican program could be summed up in this way: (1) complete and absolute distinction of secular power from spiritual power; (2) limitation of the Pope's jurisdiction over the clergy of France. The King, on the other hand, had a legitimate jurisdiction upon the Gallican Church. These principles met solid support among the higher clergy, recruited as they were from the nobility, and kept under close supervision at the Royal Court. A large number of doctors at the Sorbonne were keeping alive the old anti-Roman tradition. The Magistracy labored at the limitation of spiritual power in favor of secular power. "The magistrate, the clergyman, both wore the same Roman robe, though not derived from the same Rome. The magistrate and the clergyman were competitive judges." (2) Since 1661 opinions had been over-excited. CORET, a Jesuit, in his thesis in theology (December 11, 1661) sup-

(1) ESMEIN, "Cours élémentaire de droit français", p.653.

(2) LAVISSE, "Histoire de France", T. VII, 2nd part, p.16.

ported the infallibility of the Pope, as extending to facts as well as to rights, and defended pontifical Jansenism in such a way as to strike at the heart of Gallicanism. (1) The anger of Jansenists and Gallicans was momentarily calmed by a memorandum directed to Louis XIV by DeMarca, a paper offering a formula of moderate Gallicanism. Louis XIV decided against Coret's contention. The affair of the "Garde Corse" at Rome (1662) had as a result the revival of hostile feelings against the Pope on the part of several Bishops, of most "légistes" and of almost every Jansenist. A thesis by DROUET DE VILLENEUVE (1663) showed the same attitude as Coret's and a complaint was lodged against it by the Parlement. The steady attitude of the Sorbonne, opposed to any intrusion of the Parlement into theological matters, put an end to the controversy, although the opposition to papal infallibility continued to grow.

On February 10, 1673, a Royal Declaration decided that "le droit de régale appartient universellement au roi dans tous les évêchés du royaume", a sentence to be explained by the ecclesiastical administrative organization of the realm. The "régale temporelle" was the right to collect the revenues of temporal Bishoprics during the time of their vacancy, and it was termed universal because it applied to every Bishopric. There had never been any dispute with the Pope on that matter. The "régale spirituelle", so far as the King was concerned, was his right of bestowing minor revenues resting with the Bishopric, and was called particular or special on account of the fact that it was extended only to bishoprics in which custom had created this obligation. The Assembly of the Clergy in 1682 approved the "régale universelle", such as had been decided upon by the Royal Declaration of 1673 and

(1) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.310.

sent to Pope Innocent XI a letter explaining its decision. Later on, (March 19th, 1682), the same Assembly, under the leadership of Bossuet, published a Declaration supporting the sovereignty of General Councils and their superiority over the Pope, the separation of the temporal from the spiritual, the independence of the temporal power. In ascertaining the rights of the Church of France, Bossuet at the same time emphasized the necessity of a united Church and appealed to the good will of everyone.

"Songeons que nous devons agir par l'esprit de toute l'Eglise; ne soyons pas des hommes vulgaires que les vues particulières détournent du vrai esprit de l'unité catholique. ... Puissent nos résolutions être telles qu'elles soient dignes de nos pères et dignes d'être adoptées par nos descendants. ... L'Eglise de France est zélée pour ses libertés: elle a raison, puisque le grand concile d'Ephèse nous apprend que ces libertés particulières des Eglises sont un des fruits de la rédemption par laquelle Jésus-Christ nous a affranchis; et il est certain qu'en matière de religion et de conscience des libertés modérées entretiennent l'ordre de l'Eglise et y affermissent la paix. Mais nos pères nous ont appris à soutenir ces libertés sans manquer au respect." (1)

That Bossuet should have been a Gallican was a logical consequence of his political doctrine, in which the King was a sacred being, the "vicar of God". It was also a result of his religious views. To him, the part played by the Papacy in the development of the Church scarcely entitled it to an indisputable dominance. It was, lastly, an effect of his desire to bring back into the fold Protestants to whom ultramontane pretensions were objectionable. By his bull "inter multiplices", Pope Alexander VIII, in August, 1689, pronounced void the decisions of this Assembly of 1682. Meanwhile, public opinion at large, as it appeared, had sided generally with the part of the clergy faithful to Roman doctrines, whereas Parlements, with their juristic

(1) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies", (Calvet, publisher), pp.397-402.

background, had been inclined to consider the Pithou code as legally binding after the Declaration of 1682.

Whatever may have been the merits of the debate over the Church of France and of its liberties toward Rome when the Declaration of 1682 was condemned in 1689, the intricacies of foreign and domestic policies and the religious influence of Madame de Maintenon had already induced Louis XIV to assume a more conciliatory attitude in regard to the Pope. Bossuet himself, the official speaker for an Assembly with which he was far from being in complete agreement, was compelled in 1693, in order to give satisfaction to the Pope, to draw up a statement of retraction to be signed by those members who had been the King's appointees at the Assembly of 1682. (1)

As to the question whether the Declaration of 1682 was legally binding or not in the Kingdom of France, we have two different views. On one side, a contemporary lawyer, ESMEIN, maintains that it became a law of the State, confirmed by the "arrêt du conseil" of May 24, 1766, and had remained law up to the end of the 18th century, that is, to the French Revolution. On the other side, Fernand MOURRET, a Catholic historian, states that the Edict of 1682 was abandoned by Louis XIV. In a letter of which the authenticity is no longer doubted, Louis XIV wrote on September 14, 1696, to Pope Innocent XII:

"...Je suis bien aise de faire savoir à votre Sainteté que j'ai donné les ordres nécessaires pour que les choses ordonnées par mon édit de 1682 ... ne soient pas observées."

It seems that Esmein refers himself to the Edict of April, 1695, which had been applied without any important modification up to the Revolution. By this Edict the temporal jurisdiction was completely removed from the Church. But "the settlement of questions of administrative character was inspired by

(1) REBELLIAU, "Bossuet", p.141.

... ..

... ..

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a liberal spirit and granted to the Church a real independence." (1)

Considered from the orthodox Catholic standpoint, Jansenism, a doctrine originally matured at the Faculty of Theology of Louvain, was an intrusion of certain Protestant errors. "There were those who championed a sect similar to Protestantism, and yet they were unwilling to separate from the Catholic Church. This sect had as its leader Saint-Cyran; Port-Royal was its headquarters; it was connected with the higher classes through its "solitaires" and its "dames retraitantes". Its doctrine was a semi-Calvinism." (2) Its exponent, who was spoken of mysteriously and whose work was awaited with impatience, was to be Jansenius. Such an organization, by its very nature, was bound to be in the long run a danger to French Protestantism as well as to the State. Richelieu had decided upon an inquiry; Saint-Cyran was presented as a revolutionary spirit, exerting an absolute authority on his circle, and determined to overthrow the Church, under the pretense of reforming it. Jansenius' book, the "Augustinus", published in 1640, after the death of its author, obtained an important success among society people.

Jansenism was opposed by the Jesuits. Blaise PASCAL showed his talents as pamphleteer by attacking them bitterly. Whereas fervent Catholics were averse to Jansenistic doctrines, what was left of the Fronde was still clung to them. In fact, the "solitaires" of Port-Royal welcomed freely those who had fallen into disgrace with the royal power or with the King's ministers. Racine, a sympathizer, wrote in this connection, "Le roi était prévenu que les jansénistes n'étaient pas bien intentionnés pour sa personne et pour son état." (3) Louis XIV could not but be ill-disposed toward those independents.

(1) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.339.

(2) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.362.

(3) RACINE, "Abrégé de l'histoire de Port-Royal", 2nd part. "Oeuvres de Racine, T. II, p.72.

The history of Jansenism entered into a new phase when Pasquier QUESNEL (1654-1719) became the idol of the party. "He was destined to let loose the most violent storms by being the leader of this militant, aggressive Jansenism of the 18th century, a forerunner of the great catastrophe which fell upon the Church of France and Royalty." (1) Quesnel fled to Holland and in 1703 his papers were seized by royal authority. "The discovery of these papers, serious or not, probably recalled to Louis XIV the memory of religious wars issued from Protestantism. He would have declared then, according to Saint-Simon and Duclos, that he preferred an atheist to a Jansenist." (2) When the Pope, with a renewal of old papal measures, once more condemned Jansenism (July 15, 1705), it seemed that Jansenism was to be no more. The last official group, the nuns at Port-Royal, refused unconditional acceptance of the condemnation of Rome. By royal order they were dispersed. (October 29, 1709.) "Such an act of authority", said Fénelon, "can only provoke compassion for these women and indignation against their persecutors." (3)

After the death of Louis XIV, the Jansenists continued their resistance. However, great theological problems were no longer subjects of debate. The condemnation by the famous bull "unigenitus" of one hundred propositions of Quesnel was the starting-point of long and violent discussions along the whole 18th century. The Jansenism of the 17th century had undergone a complete transformation. The new Jansenism was wholly political; membership left aside dogma or religion itself. (4)

"From the time when Louis XIV took in hand the management of affairs, he

(1) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.398.

(2) F. MOURRET, op. cit., p.454.

(3) FÉNELON, "Oeuvres", T. III, p.815.

(4) SAINTE-BEUVE, "Port-Royal", VI, p.242.

was determined to destroy Protestantism in his realm, as was evidenced anew each year. But if this scheme was approved even by the most clear-sighted and the most honest Catholics, the latter thought that compelling measures ought to be preceded by a supreme attempt at compromise." (1)

For some years a de facto toleration had existed between Catholics and Protestants but from 1662 on controversy was resumed. In 1670 was launched a "theological crusade" with Bossuet regarded, according to LA BRUYÈRE, as the "Père de l'Eglise catholique française". The conversion of Protestants had been his great preoccupation, a token of which was the "Exposition de la Doctrine catholique", prepared in 1668 and published three years later, in 1671. Meanwhile (September, 1670), he had been appointed by Louis XIV as preceptor of the Dauphin. For ten years his main occupation was that of "making a King of France".

In his book, the "Exposition de la Doctrine catholique", BOSSUET aimed at defending Catholic creeds. It was intended more immediately for the religious education of Turenne, of Dangeau and of the Marquis of Lorges. The spirit of this brilliant work is explained by the author as follows:

"Après plus d'un demi-siècle de contestations avec messieurs de la religion prétendue réformée, les matières dont ils ont fait le sujet de leur rupture doivent être éclaircies et les esprits disposés à concevoir les sentiments de l'Eglise Catholique. Ainsi il semble qu'on ne puisse mieux faire que de les proposer simplement et de bien les distinguer de ceux qui lui ont été faussement imputés. ... Cette exposition de notre doctrine produira deux bons effets: le premier que plusieurs disputes s'évanouiront tout à fait, parce qu'on reconnaîtra qu'elles sont fondées sur de fausses explications de notre croyance; le second, que les disputes qui resteront ne paraîtront pas selon les principes des prétendues réformes, si capitales qu'ils ont voulu d'abord le faire croire; et que, selon ces

(1) REBELLIAU, "Bossuet", p.58.

mêmes principes, elles n'ont rien qui blesse les fondements de la foi." (1)

This exposition of the Catholic faith by Bossuet achieved a far-reaching success. "The truth was that Protestants had never been challenged in a more direct manner. In view of the increase in conversions among the well-educated people after 1670, the 'Exposition' had undoubtedly fulfilled its purpose." (2) The Bishop is a fair-minded writer and abstains from abusive language or eloquent anathemas. At this period of his career, Bossuet could be rightfully considered an adroit defender of an intelligent and sympathetic religion.

Freed of his duty as royal educator in 1680, Bossuet devoted four years to the preparation of the "Histoire des Variations des Eglises protestantes". In the meantime, he held a conference with CLAUDE, a Protestant minister at Charenton. Both wrote a report of this conference in which each appears as having overdone his part. Bossuet wrote as to his personal attitude:

"Je ne prétends point tirer avantage du succès de la conférence, qui fut suivie de la conversion de Mlle de Daras. C'est l'oeuvre de Dieu dont il faut lui rendre grâce; c'est un exemple pour ceux qui se trouvent bien disposés; mais ce n'est pas un exemple pour des opiniâtres. Les catholiques regarderont ce changement d'une façon et les prétendus réformés d'une autre. Ainsi quand nous nous mettrons, M. Claude et moi, à soutenir chacun son opinion, il n'en résultera qu'une dispute dont le public n'a que faire." (2)

Bossuet may have in good faith estimated further debate superfluous, preferring as a staunch believer to rely on the mysterious action of God who would open the eyes of the unorthodox. Nevertheless, public discussions between Catholics and Protestants were far from being over. Under the influence of the new political situation brought about by the Edict of Fontainebleau, (1685), they took a new turn.

(1) REBELLIAU, op. cit., p.65.

(2) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies", (Calvet publisher), p.409

In 1598 Protestantism in France had been granted official toleration. The act of Henry IV, in fact a treaty of peace, had established the "Réligion prétendue Réformée" on the basis of public law. The Edict of Nantes was actually the first charter of freedom of conscience in Europe. The King, probably a sceptic as his three changes of religion would indicate, had laid aside as utopian the ambition of reconciling Catholicism and Protestantism. Inevitably political compromise brought dissatisfaction in both quarters. In 1629 with the "paix de Nîmes" the political organizations of Protestants had been suppressed.

The end of civil religious wars had marked also the dawn of an era of relative peace. Through the influence of Cardinal Mazarin, the Edict of Nantes had been confirmed in 1652. The advance of Protestantism, by the middle of the 17th century, was evidenced by an increase in the number of places of worship and of clerics. So far the old feuds were not buried for ever. They were revived by the combined influence of Parlements, merchants or artisans' guilds. However, an appeal for governmental intervention was not approved and feelings due to economic jealousy were not shared by the military nobility, the noblesse, the well-to-do bourgeoisie, men of letters, theologians and secular clergy. After sixty years under the protection of the Edict of Nantes, liberty of conscience had become a reality. Under the influence of men and women with high standards, toleration had been on the way to become a habit. If the successors of Henry IV, Richelieu and Mazarin, had been animated with the same spirit, no doubt there would have been laid in France the definitive foundations of tolerant attitudes. (1)

Unfortunately, the Declaration of LA FÈRE in 1656 initiated a practice

(1) BONET-MAURY, "Histoire de la liberté de conscience", p.35.

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of restrictive "arrêts" in regard to the Protestants. An increasingly petty-fogging jurisdiction meant an actual suppression of those guarantees granted by Henry IV in 1598. Finally, on October 18, 1685, "the Edict of Fontainebleau applied within France the principle 'cujus regio, ejus religio', just as it had been imposed by the Reformation during the 16th century upon subjects of Northern European countries. French Protestants were placed in a situation similar to that to which Catholics had been reduced by Protestant States." (1)

Moreover, the internal life of French Protestantism presented a rather disquieting outlook. Disputes were rife among communicants. A great number showed a desire to grow rich, whereas the former Huguenot austerity was on the decline and doctrine was losing its vigour. It was noted by CLAUDE, a Protestant minister, in a letter to his son written on August 31, 1685, two months before the Edict of Nantes was repealed:

"Je ne sais ce qui arrivera de notre troupeau; je ne remarque que peu de zèle, beaucoup de mondanité et un attachement inviolable du temporel." (2)

Shortly after the Protestants had been subjected to drastic political coercion, seemingly with the approval of French public opinion, Bossuet, on the Catholic side, renewed his former attempts to convert them by theological argument. He published in 1688 his "Histoire des variations des Eglises protestantes", raising the problem of the characterizations of the true Church. Protestants kept objecting that owing to the fact that it had varied since the beginning of Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church could not qualify for such a position. Bossuet's argument developed along the following

(1) DECLAREUIL, "Histoire générale du droit français", p.1019.

(2) Quoted by Frank PUAUX, "Les précurseurs français de la tolérance au XVIIème siècle", p.94.

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lines: It is recognized that Primitive Church was the repository of Truth. The Church has not changed. Supposing it should have changed, it would have fallen into error. Being infallible, the Church is safe from erring. The source of Christian creeds is undoubtedly to be found in the Scripture, but in the Scripture as interpreted by an infallible Church. To refuse the guidance of the Church on such a matter would mean that in so far as faith is concerned there would be as many distinct opinions as interpreters. It is precisely the aim of Bossuet to point out the impotence of free examination ("libre examen") in its efforts to establish a Church. He makes himself clear about it in the preface of his book:

"Si les protestants savaient à fond comment s'est formée leur religion, avec combien de variations et avec quelle inconstance leurs confessions de foi ont été dressées, comment ils se sont séparés premièrement de nous et puis entre eux, par combien de subtilités, de détours et d'équivoques, ils ont tâché de réparer leurs divisions et de rassembler les membres épars de leur réforme désunie; cette réforme, dont ils se vantent, ne les contenterait guère; et, pour dire franchement ce que je pense, elle ne leur inspirerait que du mépris. ... Lorsque, parmi les chrétiens, on a vu des variations dans l'exposition de la foi, on les a toujours regardées comme une marque de fausseté et d'inconséquence (qu'on me permette ce mot) dans la doctrine exposée." (1)

As far as the book itself is concerned, it proved to be an immense success. It brought forth many answering documents so that from 1689 to 1691 Bossuet found it necessary to write "Six avertissements aux protestants sur les lettres de Monsieur Jurieu contre l'Histoire des variations".

The immediate emotion caused in Protestant circles was to continue throughout some years but the effects of the "Histoire des variations" upon the history of ideas were to be far-reaching. "At a time when inquiring about

(1) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies", (Calvet, publisher), p.413.

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also mentions the scope of the study and the limitations. The second part of the paper discusses the methodology used in the study. It mentions the data sources and the statistical methods used. The third part of the paper discusses the results of the study. It mentions the findings and the conclusions. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the study. It mentions the policy implications and the future research.

The study was conducted in a systematic and rigorous manner. The data was collected from a large sample of respondents. The statistical methods used were appropriate for the data. The results of the study are presented in a clear and concise manner. The findings of the study are discussed in detail. The conclusions of the study are based on the findings. The implications of the study are discussed in detail. The policy implications of the study are discussed in detail. The future research is discussed in detail.

The study has several strengths. It is a large-scale study. It is a longitudinal study. It is a quantitative study. It is a qualitative study. It is a mixed-methods study. The study has several limitations. It is a cross-sectional study. It is a self-reported study. It is a non-experimental study. The study has several contributions. It contributes to the knowledge of the field. It contributes to the understanding of the phenomenon. It contributes to the development of the theory. It contributes to the practice of the field.

one's references and authorities was viewed as an antiquarian mania or a matter of pedantic chicanery, Bossuet had given his sources." (1) He presented certain facts which could be no longer challenged by Protestants, who decided instead - Jurieu, for example - to base their attacks upon principles.

So, convincing as he may seem to have been, Bossuet was not successful to the point of originating a radical change in the minds of his religious opponents. From 1670 to 1688, circumstances played to a large extent in his favor; he was able to secure the respect of his adversaries. But around 1690 public opinion had grown indifferent, if not hostile. Changed conditions were due mainly to this "Histoire des variations", in which "even when he is right - and he is so concerning Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII, Cranmer - he is too much right." (2) If ideas and things were in agreement, so to speak, to league against Bossuet, the reason for it lies in the fact that he was way behind his times. As Paul HAZARD explained at his death (1704), "The 18th century had already started at least twenty years before." (3)

However, if we turn to another aspect of the issue, it appears that at the end of the 17th century the thinking elite in and out of France was "conscious of the existence of a religious schism." (4)

Each side produced a remarkable champion. A German Lutheran, LEIBNITZ, counsellor of princes, craving for encyclopedic knowledge, felt sure that, whatever might be the difficulties, nothing was standing in the way of a rapprochement between Catholics and Protestants. A Frenchman, BOSSUET, typifying orthodoxy, considered as "the ambassador of a possible reunion", was esteemed by his adversaries because of his dignified life, his conscience, the homage

(1) REBELLIAU, "Bossuet", p.112.

(2) REBELLIAU, "Bossuet", p.117.

(3) and (4) Paul HAZARD, "Revue des deux Mondes", August 20, 1932.

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3. The third part describes the results of the data analysis. It highlights the key findings and trends identified, such as the increasing demand for certain services and the need for more efficient resource allocation. It also notes any challenges or limitations encountered during the analysis process.

4. The fourth part provides recommendations based on the findings. It suggests implementing specific measures to address the identified issues and improve the organization's performance. These recommendations include enhancing communication channels, streamlining processes, and investing in staff training.

5. The final part of the document concludes with a summary of the overall findings and a statement of the author's commitment to ongoing research and improvement. It expresses the hope that the insights gained from this study will be valuable to the organization and its stakeholders.

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he paid to Protestantism. He had approved of the Edict of Fontainebleau, but without unnecessary violence. The exchange of views between Bossuet and Leibnitz gained its full amplitude after 1691. Leibnitz, having a turn for conciliation, looked rather a politician. Bossuet, primarily a theologian, spoke of a preliminary conversion without bargaining. Accordingly, he wrote to Leibnitz (August 19, 1693):

"Il n'y a rien à espérer pour la réunion quand on voudra supposer que les décisions de foi du concile de Trente peuvent demeurer en suspens. Assurez-vous que c'est un point sur lequel on ne passera jamais de notre part. J'aurais beaucoup de choses à dire sur les lettres que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire, mais il faut donner des bornes à ces disputes quand les choses en sont venues à un certain point d'éclaircissement." (1)

Obviously, the method of approach on both sides was different. Negotiations came to a deadlock in 1698 but not so much for religious reasons as for political objections. The possibility of a union with Rome frightened Protestant rulers. If ever it were realized, it would mean the triumph of Catholic nations. (2) "The King of England set in motion his representatives. The German princes were troubled and the Court of Hanover was under the obligation of forbidding Leibnitz subsequent negotiations." (3)

The idea of religious unity throughout Europe resulted in failure in the same manner as it had failed within France. In this connection, Leibnitz and Bossuet appear as brilliant and generous survivors of a superseded generation. Leibnitz, not a church-goer, had the reputation of being an unbeliever and accordingly ministers were against him. His attempt to reconcile the Churches cost him his position of political adviser. In 1714 he was refused the op-

(1) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies", (Calvet, publisher), p.442.

(2) cf. BARUZI, "Leibnitz et l'organisation religieuse de la terre", 1 vol. Paris, 1908.

(3) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies", (Calvet, publisher), p.443.

portunity to help the Elector of Hanover after the accession of the latter to the throne of England. Briefly speaking, his views had made an outcast of him. In 1698, Bossuet kept in line with the change of Louis XIV's policy toward the Protestants and under his influence were written the milder directions sent by the King to the "intendants".

So the consciousness of religious differences lasted a relatively short time and was limited to a minority of distinguished thinkers. We are concerned now with the changing attitude of writers in France regarding religion itself and the new approach to the relationships of Church and State during the first decades of the 18th century.

IV.

CHURCH AND STATE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Ideas of Toleration and Separation

(1700-1760)

- I. GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION
 - severe measures against Huguenots
 - revival of anti-semitism
 - Voltaire and Pope Benedict XIV
 - increasing power of philosophism
- II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE IDEA OF TOLERATION (1700-1750)
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 - Jean Barbeyrac
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY
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IV.

CHURCH AND STATE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Ideas of Toleration and Separation

(1700-1760)

As far as religion was concerned, the attitude of a man born after the 16th century could be explained thus: Catholics and Protestants were each equipped with what seemed equal weapons. Religion, as such, still held a position of general respect. "A man of the end of the 17th century was astonished by the fact that religious disputes survived their great moral, national, ethnic or political causes." (1) Consequently, religion itself was the origin of all these quarrels. Ergo, - why not do away with religion altogether?

The 18th century, contrary to appearances, was not to be an anti-religious century. Both the bourgeoisie and the people in general in France were to remain profoundly Catholic. Meanwhile, a very small but brilliant and clamorous minority became the apostles of scepticism and toleration.

The idea of ecclesiastical and civil toleration, such as developed during the 18th century, was the source of theological discussion in Calvinistic headquarters as well as in Catholic, and political struggle and confusion of thought lasted up to the middle of the century. On May 6, 1716, the Regent, in the name of Louis XV, who was not yet of age, set forth a Declaration re-enforcing the most severe edicts of Louis XIV. The Declaration of 1724 withheld from the Protestants the right to congregate anywhere, under any pretense

(1) E. FAGUET, "L'Anticléricalisme", p.86.

whatsoever. Ministers presiding over any such meetings were guilty of an offense punishable by death. Those attending them were threatened with the galleys for life. Outcast though they were, by 1745 the Protestants found themselves strong enough to hold their religious services in the open. After 1762 more and more convicts were granted pardons and the death penalty was no longer actually inflicted for religious defections.

Anti-semitism, which had been practically dormant during the reign of Louis XIV, was brought to life simultaneously with the severity against the Huguenots. On February 20, 1731, the Jews were forbidden to carry on business except in their own homes. The declaration of Louis XV of 1733 forbade the Jews the right of personal signature on debts contracted with them by Christian borrowers. Voltaire, though an exponent of toleration, framed anti-Jewish epigrams which have a present-day parallel. To him, the Jewish religion was the most absurd and barbarian in existence. It was to be censored the more for being the father of Christianity.

Voltaire, who vacillated considerably and changed his mind frequently on a wide range of subjects during his long and active life, remained adamant on this question. Moreover, he approved of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes as being a political necessity.

"Toutes ces mesures étaient publiquement sollicitées par le clergé de France. C'étaient, après tout, les enfants de la maison qui ne voulaient pas de partage avec les étrangers introduits par force. ... Le Calvinisme devait nécessairement enfanter les guerres civiles et ébranler les fondements des Etats. ... Il n'y a point de pays où la religion de Calvin et de Luther ait paru sans exciter des persécutions et des guerres. ..." (1)

Whereas Voltaire showed religious intolerance, Pope Benedict XIV, to

(1) VOLTAIRE, quoted by FAGUET, "Politique comparée", p.225.

whom the latter had dedicated his play "Mahomet" (previously refused by Louis XV), extended tolerance toward both Jews and Protestants and even interceded with Louis XV in favor of the persecuted Calvinists. (1)

It appears that after 1745 the clergy of France and the Sorbonne were not so much opposed to Jansenist writings. The Parlement of Paris and the ultramontanes were on the way to reconciliation, due largely to their common opposition against the growing importance of the "philosophes". As a first result of this new, temporarily effective policy of understanding, the first two volumes of the "Encyclopédie" were suppressed by royal order on February 7, 1752. Philosophism, which was but a continuation of Bayle's ideas, had become conscious of its power during the early years of the 18th century. "The class of the men of letters had had since 1700 or 1720 the vague idea of becoming a spiritual power. But this spiritual power was already in rival hands." (2) State Christianity was regarded as a competitor, a rival, an obstacle. Around 1750, as a consequence of the battle of ideas, the struggle between incredulity and faith, and the seemingly permanent conflict between Church and State, a violent scepticism of accepted religion, i.e. Catholicism, burst forth everywhere.

During the 17th century in England many pamphlets on toleration had been written, mainly by dissenters, against the despotism of the established Church. "In face, these very eloquent treatises had a less important and less generous objective than appeared at first. They aimed at the settlement of a domestic

(1) F. MOURRET (op. cit., p.426) says concerning Benedict XIV: "Brought up in the absolutist traditions of princes of the 18th century, he had had painful experimentation with the disadvantages of them and he accepted the government of the Church with a fixed determination of moderation which was to draw down upon him, perhaps rightly, the reproach of excessive compliance."

(2) FAGUET, "Anticléricalisme", p.93.

quarrel between sects sprung from the Reformation." (1) Owen, Clifford, Harrington, Milton and Locke refused to tolerate Catholicism.

LOCKE, in particular, no longer clung to the old accusation, Catholic "idolatry". "If a Roman Catholic believe that to be really the body of Christ, which another calls bread, he does no injury to his neighbor." (2) The accusation against Romanism remained political, under the assumption that papist obedience to a foreign sovereign by claiming the right to depose a King was apt to stir up revolution in any state. "That Church can have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate, which is constituted upon such a foundation that all those who enter into it do thereby ipso facto deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another prince. For by this means the magistrate would give way to the settling of a foreign jurisdiction in his own country, and suffer his own people to be listed, as it were, for soldiers against his own government." (3)

From this time on, English writers on toleration, especially Locke, objected to Catholicism as an adverse political organization rather than as a religious body. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes invigorated hatred of Papism in England. Henceforth, discussions on toleration in this country were intimately related to problems concerning the French Huguenots. Locke was translated into French in 1691 and with the growing interest in English ideas in France he came to be considered their best spokesman. (4) Church and State,

(1) LECLER, "Études", May 5, 1932.

(2) LOCKE, "A letter concerning toleration", p.40.

(3) LOCKE, op. cit., p.46.

(4) In 1692, LEIBNITZ, who was in correspondence with French scholars, sent to Pellissay his "Tolérance des Religions". However, the influence of Leibnitz has been only indirect. He impressed very few of the elite.

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Locke explained, have different aims. "A Church I take to be a voluntary society of men, joining themselves together of their own accord, in order to the public worshipping of God, in such a manner as they may judge acceptable to Him, and effectual to the salvation of their souls." (1) The effect of this conception of Church was to destroy every State Church. "Peace, equity and friendship are always mutually to be observed by particular churches in the same manner as by private persons, without any pretense of superiority or jurisdiction over one another." (2) Consequently, magistrates had nothing to do with religion as such. "The magistrate has no power to enforce the law, either in his own church, or much less in another ..." (3) Legal protection was due every Church, so long as it remained an upholder of the State. "No opinion contrary to human society or to those moral rules which are necessary to the preservation of civil society are to be tolerated."

Locke hated the priesthood, because to him it was not only useless but dangerous to the State. In France, Jean-François BERNARD, from 1723 to 1737, published ten important volumes, "*Les cérémonies et coutumes de tous les peuples du monde*". For this writer, religious identity is derived from the spirit of imitation natural to all men. Men become religious through ceremonies. Religions all have the same origin and the same defects.

During the same epoch, A. M. RAMSAY, impressed by the diversity of English religious sects, had become a zealous advocate of tolerance. Ramsay, born of a Calvinist father and an Anglican mother, had a strong bent for theology. Converted to Catholicism in 1709 by Fénelon, he became the biographer, the publisher and the defender of the Archbishop of Cambrai. In his "*Essai*

(1) LOCKE, "A letter on toleration", VI, p.13.

(2) LOCKE, op. cit., p.18.

(3) LOCKE, op. cit., p.29.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including the use of statistical techniques and computerized databases. It also discusses the challenges associated with data collection and analysis, such as the need for standardized procedures and the potential for bias and error.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the role of the auditor in the financial system. It describes the various responsibilities of the auditor, including the need to maintain independence and objectivity, to follow established auditing standards, and to communicate effectively with the client. The text also discusses the importance of the auditor's report and the potential consequences of a failed audit. It concludes by emphasizing the need for continuous improvement and the ongoing education of auditors.

3. The third part of the document discusses the importance of the financial system in the economy. It describes the various components of the financial system, including the money market, the capital market, and the insurance market. It also discusses the role of the financial system in the economy, including the provision of capital and the facilitation of trade and commerce. The text concludes by emphasizing the need for a strong and stable financial system to support economic growth and development.

de politique ... selon les principes de l'auteur de *Télémaque*" (1719), Ramsay presented Fénelon as an apostle of civil toleration and of religious proselytism through persuasion alone. In 1723 he wrote a "*Histoire de Fénelon*", in which are to be found the counsels of toleration given by Fénelon to the Chevalier de Saint-Georges in a "*Discours pour le sacre de l'électeur de Cologne*" - "Counsels celebrated through the 16th century, and which have contributed more to the prestige of the Archbishop than *Télémaque* itself." (1) With his "*Voyages de Cyrus*" (1729), a novel of political and religious pedagogy, Ramsay expressed more vigorously and freely his conceptions of toleration, his main contention being that the essential dogmas of Christianity had existed already in pagan religions. Wise men of antiquity were no more duped than contemporary philosophers by the "mythological machine", a priestly invention to circumvent ignorance. By skill, or sincerity, Ramsay restrained himself in his propaganda from any malice as far as the Church was concerned. He seemed to be entirely occupied in playing the part of an expert conciliator, of a Fénelonian, of a prophet. If Fénelon's prestige has lately acquired a doubtful lustre, Ramsay obtained from it an excessive and all too permanent prestige. Fénelon has been credited with the idea of civil toleration and even of a scholarly toleration. No doubt Ramsay is responsible for it by the account he made of the counsels given by Fénelon to the English pretender to the throne, as well as by his investigations into the religions of Egypt and of Persia, through which he aimed at discovering accurate details in agreement and accordance with the Old and New Testament.

Jean BARBEYRAC, of the second generation of exiled Huguenots, followed a path different from that of other Protestants who endorsed tolerance. His

(1) Albert CHÉREL, "*De Télémaque à Candide*", p.202.

"Traité de la morale des Pères de l'Eglise" (1728) proved he had been trained in the school of Pufendorf, of Grotius and of Noodt. He had translated their works, accompanying the translations with erudite commentaries. His study of Saint Augustine, whom he considered the "patron des persécuteurs", afforded him an opportunity for determining clearly and precisely a principle of civil toleration consisting obviously in granting freedom of conscience to those not members of the established Church. Ecclesiastical toleration, according to Barbeyrac, meant that ecclesiastical opinions should be viewed with open-mindedness, the Church alone having the right to discipline its own members. Questions of properly domestic concern to the Church are not within the jurisdiction of the State. If it were so, it would mean the possible use of force and the conscience of man is answerable exclusively to God and not to civil power. Intolerance is damaging to the prosperity of the State. Unity of creeds in a civil society is beyond possibility of realization. However, the ruler has still the right of establishing his personal religion as the official religion of the State. Barbeyrac's conceptions represented to a certain extent the opinion of his contemporaries. On the other hand, they proved to be the logical conclusions of the disputes which had taken place during the end of the preceding century.

In 1721 was published what Villemain has called "the most serious among frivolous books", the "Lettres Persanes" of Montesquieu. In this work is disclosed the author's feeling of repulsion against religion in general and against the Catholic Church in particular. That religion per se is disturbing to the peace of the government is an idea repeated several times:

"Celui qui veut me faire changer de religion ne le fait sans doute parce qu'il ne changerait pas la sienne quand on voudrait l'y forcer: il trouve donc étrange que je ne fasse pas une chose qu'il ne ferait pas lui-même, peut-être pour l'empire du monde."

(Letter LXXXVI)

As far as the future of the nation was concerned, Montesquieu was frightened by the effect of ecclesiastical celibacy and of the accumulation of property by mortmain. (Letter CXVIII.) To him, Protestantism, which had repudiated celibacy, was a more social religion. He protested against the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and defended toleration and freedom of conscience as being eminently useful to the State.

VOLTAIRE, in his "Lettres Philosophiques" (1731-34), avoids those frivolities which caused the success of the "Lettres Persanes". "I am a metaphysician with Locke," he says, "but a Christian with Saint Paul." He insisted on the distinction between the spheres of reason and of faith, asserting that philosophy is inoffensive to religion. We find, at least potentially, the cherished conceptions he was to develop in the future. In fighting for toleration he endeavored at the same time to bring positive religions into discredit. The psychological attitude of Voltaire, as related to French tradition, has been explained by Victor GIRAUD as follows: "Voltaireanism is the superior form of French irreligion. As a matter of fact, this Voltairianism existed in France long before Voltaire. The role of Voltaire has been to express it with brilliancy, consistency and a matchless control." (1)

Voltaire, who was avowedly despotic, accepted religion only for the lower classes. Such a religion must be under the control of a government paying priests who are in turn "officiers de morale". In reality, Voltaire, as far as religious matters were concerned, was nothing more than a virtuous Marcus Aurelius, replete with antique wisdom, in friendly relations with philosophers, chief of a clergy of his own making, and an enemy to men who worshipped God in a manner different from his own." (2)

(1) Victor GIRAUD, "Revue des deux Mondes", Oct. 15, 1934, p.915.

(2) E. FAGUET, "Anticléricalisme", p.100.

The evolution of Montesquieu's thought, as far as religion was concerned, instead of being aggravated became, on the contrary, more liberal in his "Esprit des Lois". After he had thought the matter over thoroughly, he realized that Christianity had laid the foundations of the rights of man, insofar as it denies to the State an absolute dominion over the human person. To Montesquieu, Christian religion was viewed as being anti-despotic. Of course, he would have liked a Gallican religion, independent from the Holy See and from the government of Versailles, and also somewhat similar to Protestantism." (1)

The compromise forwarded by Montesquieu for the problem of the relations between Church and State differed profoundly from the solution then commonly accepted in France. Owing to the antagonism between civil and religious laws, the ideas of separation between Church and State were asserting themselves with a particular insistence. After the death of Louis XIV, the Church, which seemed solidary with Royal power, showed an increasing desire for freedom. "Neither the splendour nor the pompous brilliancy with which it had been adorned by the great King could send into oblivion lost franchises. The hierarchy acted in such a way as to be distinguished from civil hierarchy. Toward 1720, thoughts of separation were rampant. The ecclesiastical circles were favorably disposed. It is curious to note that none accepted them with more sympathy than the episcopate itself." (2)

Whereas Church and State were each fighting for domination, "Parlement" and Royalty desired sovereign command over constituted bodies. Among the clergy the separatist trends began to appear in the disputes referring to the

(1) E. FAGUET, op. cit., p.95.

(2) DEDIEU, "Le rôle politique des protestants français", p.233.

jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts, more especially on the occasion of a certain LE COINTRE affair, a priest suspended by the Archbishop of Paris, who had appealed to the "Parlement" of Paris. (appel comme d'abus) The theory of legists was taken up again with particular violence. In a similar affair in 1730 the plaintiff stated in a pamphlet for his defense:

"Il est bien juste que dans le Royaume, les Parlements souverains dépositaires des lois de l'Etat, examinent les jugements de ces tribunaux ecclésiastiques et les rappellent aux règles qu'ils doivent suivre et aux objets déterminés de leur compétence." (1)

After an assembly of the clergy in which principles of independence had been reaffirmed, two "arrêts" of the "Parlement", (October 30, 1730, and November 25, 1730), passed because of Royal pressure, had given satisfaction to the clergy. But moderation could not exist on both sides since it was actually a war to the death. So the "Parlement" by its "arrêt" of September 7, 1731, asserted that secular power comes directly from God, and accordingly is independent. Consequently, ministers of the Church had no right to limit temporal authority. Moreover, in case of abuse, they were responsible to the "Parlement". The alleged "arrêt", far from being covered by royal authority, was cancelled on September 8, 1731.

As a result of these difficulties concerning the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there followed the publication of a great number of political and religious treatises in favor of the State, as opposed to the Church. One of them, for example, was the "Traité des bornes de la puissance ecclésiastique et de la puissance civile" (1734), written by Delpech DE MERINVILLE.

"After half a century of struggles the union of two powers was thought impossible. Their interests were viewed as being too different." (2) In con-

(1) Mémoire of LAIR, quoted by DEDIEU, op. cit., p.235.

(2) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.239. (The first separation of the State from the Church did not actually take place until February 21, 1795.)

nection with this problem of Church and State, Montesquieu, who was a kind of Jansenist without being a Christian, and furthermore anti-catholic, proved to be what he was indeed, a magistrate of the 18th century. He was a partisan of the *via media* between a royal absolutism, supported by the quibbles of the "parlementaires", and a clergy which was striving for autonomy. Montesquieu was opposed to the domineering spirit of both parties because he realized the social usefulness of religions and of religious freedom. His standpoint was obviously original and owed nothing to French theorists.

At first, Montesquieu was indebted to Warburton, an Anglican Bishop equally feared and respected in England. His book was translated into French in 1742 with this title: "Union de la religion, de la morale et de la politique". When John Locke supported the idea of an absolute separation between Church and State, he had aroused opposition in the Anglican Church. Warburton was not personally concerned with the truth of a religion which he considered to be mere administrative machinery. He wanted an exchange of good offices between the two powers, the State watching carefully over the Church, and the latter helping the State with its moral authority. Whereas the supremacy of the King would be respected, an alliance between the crown and the episcopate was desirable and ought to be promoted.

Montesquieu, a respectful disciple of Warburton, was also an admirer of an audacious free-thinker, Bernard MANDEVILLE. One of this Englishman's books had been translated into French in 1722 by Van Effen: "Pensées libres sur la religion, l'église et le bonheur de la nation". Mandeville explained that every people has a profound feeling for religion. In fact, no one is indifferent to religion. He condemned the skilful and despicable policy of the Catholic Church, which, in his opinion, aimed merely at aggrandizement. Nevertheless, he would have liked to see religious toleration more widespread.

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of understanding the cultural context of the research. It emphasizes that researchers must be aware of the values, beliefs, and customs of the community they are studying. This is particularly important in cross-cultural research, where differences in cultural norms can significantly impact the results. The author argues that a deep understanding of the cultural context is essential for the validity and reliability of the research findings.

2. The second part of the paper focuses on the methodological challenges of conducting research in a cross-cultural setting. It highlights the difficulties of translating concepts and questions across different languages and cultures. The author suggests that researchers should use a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to overcome these challenges. Qualitative methods, such as interviews and focus groups, can provide rich, detailed information about the cultural context, while quantitative methods, such as surveys and experiments, can provide more generalizable results.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the ethical considerations of cross-cultural research. It emphasizes the importance of obtaining informed consent from participants and ensuring that the research is conducted in a way that respects the cultural values and norms of the community. The author argues that researchers have a responsibility to ensure that their research is both culturally sensitive and ethically sound.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the practical implications of cross-cultural research. It suggests that the findings of such research can be used to inform policy and practice in a variety of fields, including education, health care, and social work. The author argues that a better understanding of the cultural context of different communities can help researchers and practitioners develop more effective interventions and programs.

5. The fifth part of the paper discusses the future of cross-cultural research. It suggests that there is a need for more research on the cultural context of different communities, particularly in areas such as mental health and aging. The author argues that cross-cultural research is a vital part of the scientific process and that it should continue to be a priority for researchers and funding agencies.

The contemporaries of Montesquieu criticized those passages wherein he explained the motives of attachment to religion, the benefit of religion and the necessity of religion for subjects and princes. Those parts wherein Montesquieu attacked ecclesiastical celibacy and the wealth of the Church have also been criticized, and lastly, those parts wherein he asked for toleration. (This meant practically the XXVth book of the "Esprit des Lois". In short, Montesquieu, in spite of several contradictions, proved to be a defender of an absolute freedom for conscience and of a complete freedom for churches.

"C'est un principe que toute religion qui est réprimée devient elle-même réprimante; car sitôt que par quelque hasard, elle peut sortir de l'oppression, elle attaque la religion qui l'a opprimée, non pas comme une religion mais comme une tyrannie." (Book XXV, Ch. IX.)

"Ce sera une très bonne loi civile lorsque l'Etat est satisfait de la religion déjà établie, de ne point souffrir l'établissement d'une autre. Voici donc le principe fondamental des lois politiques en fait de religion; quand on est maître de recevoir, il ne faut pas l'y établir; quand elle y est établie, il faut la tolérer." (Book XXV, Ch. X.)

On the other hand, Montesquieu was convinced that several religions are good for a country or for a State. To conclude, "he sees in religion", as Emile FAGUET remarks, "a kind of conservative board for the rights of the man, for the freedom of the soul, for individual liberty and he is grateful that it is so." (1) Perhaps the best expression of Montesquieu's thought as far as religion is concerned is:

"La religion chrétienne veut que chaque peuple ait les meilleures lois politiques et les meilleurs lois civiles." (Book XXIV, Ch. I.)

The idea of toleration had also its practical aspect. "In the middle of the 18th century, the question of toleration aroused on account of the val-

(1) E. FAGUET, "Politique comparée", p.279.

idity of marriages and baptisms celebrated by Protestant ministers in the 'Desert'; in other words, was it possible or not to grant identification papers to non-Catholics?" (1) In 1753, an anonymous writer, "maître de requêtes" at the "Conseil d'Etat", gave to the public two "Lettres sur la tolérance"; in 1754, two "Lettres d'un ecclésiastique sur les affaires présentes ou le conciliateur". The author of all these letters was TURGOT, a former student in theology who later became a minister of Louis XVI. He criticized the system of State religion and the intolerance which, in his opinion, resulted from it.

"Aucune religion n'a le droit d'exiger de l'Etat d'autre protection que celle de la liberté; encore perd-elle ses droits à cette liberté quand ses dogmes ou son culte sont contraires à l'intérêt de l'Etat. ... C'est une impiété à moitié secrète, c'est-à-dire un manque de foi en la puissance de la vérité qui motive l'intolérance!"

TURGOT was one of those rare statesmen who had the opportunity of putting into practice some of the ideas expressed by them prior to their accession to power. (He prepared with MALSHERBES the Edict of 1787.) Among the writers of the 18th century Turgot has been pointed out as the one who best understood the conditions of freedom of conscience in a monarchical and Catholic country.(1) Not all of his generous views were realized, even in the institutions of contemporary France.

In 1755, RIIPERT DE MONCLAR, attorney general at the Parlement of Aix, published anonymously a "Mémoire théologique et politique, au sujet des mariages clandestins des protestants de France, où l'on voit qu'il est de l'intérêt de l'Eglise et de l'Etat de les faire cesser en établissant pour les protestants une nouvelle forme de se marier qui ne blesse point la conscience

(1) cf. BONET-MAURY, op. cit., p.69.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical analysis performed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study. It includes a series of tables and graphs that illustrate the findings of the research. The data shows a clear trend of increasing activity over time.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It suggests that the results have significant implications for the field of study and may lead to further research in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes the study. It summarizes the main findings and provides a final statement on the importance of the research.

et qui n'intéresse point celle des évêques et des cures." The view-point of Ripert de Monclar was presented as the result of an experiment carried during a period of seventy years, which had convinced the magistrates that measures of coercion were of no avail. Civil intolerance resulted in a great number of illegitimate births and in the increase of emigration. But the memorandum of Ripert de Monclar did not go unanswered. In 1756, DE CAVEIRAC, a priest, wrote, "Les sentiments des Catholiques sur le mémoire au sujet des mariages clandestins des protestants", assigning to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes causes which proved to be political rather than religious. After all, the fact that two millions of Protestants in France were reduced to four hundred thousand was an advantage. ANTOINE COURT replied the same year by a "Lettre d'un patriote sur la tolérance civile des protestants et sur les avantages qui en résulteraient pour le royaume", in which he maintained that an emigration of one or two millions of French people had been a severe loss to France. He asked for freedom in public celebration for Protestants and for a form of marriage in compliance with their ideas. DE CAVEIRAC, in his "Dissertation sur la tolérance des Protestants" (1757) contested COURT's ideas; that is, that to him toleration of Protestants would necessitate universal toleration. After all, the Jews, for example, would be more entitled to toleration than the Protestants. Had not their religion been created by God himself, while the religion of heretics was but the work of the devil? On the contrary, MORELLET, a priest, in his "Petite brochure sur une matière intéressante" (1756), ridiculed the project of bringing back all the heretics into the bosom of the Church. DE CAVEIRAC, not to be discouraged, wrote an "Apologie de Louis XIV et de son conseil sur la révocation de l'Edit de

Nantes" (1758), pointing out all the troubles due to the Reformation in France. His point of view was not so far removed from the standpoint of Voltaire, to which we have already referred.

The situation was viewed with perspicacity by D'ARGENSON, who wrote in 1753:

"On ne saurait attribuer la perte de la religion en France à la philosophie anglaise qui n'a gagné à Paris qu'une centaine de philosophes, mais à la haine contre les prêtres qui va au dernier excès. A peine osent-ils se montrer dans les rues, sans être hués. Tous les esprits se tournent au mécontentement et à la désobéissance et tout chemine à une grande révolution dans la religion ainsi que dans le gouvernement. Et ce sera bien autre chose que cette réforme grossière mêlée de superstition et de liberté qui nous arriva d'Allemagne au XVIème siècle." (1)

So around 1750 toleration was admitted in public opinion. Intolerance, of course, had still its defenders but their shy and awkward voices lost power among indignant clamors. The Calas, Sirven, and La Barre affairs brought discredit on "fanatism", or at least what was called so. The "Traité de la tolérance" (1763) of Voltaire had for a starting-point the Calas affair. Calas had been accused by public opinion in Toulouse of having caused the death of his son, who wished to become a Catholic. Calas had protested but was tortured and broken upon the wheel. (1761) Emile Faguet explains, "In these affairs are to be found more than religious and political passions. The cases are not so clear as Voltaire has presented them. ... The aim of Voltaire was not so much the rehabilitation of the condemned, as the condemnation of the 'Parlements'." (1) Nevertheless, religion had its share in these various attacks. The orthodox thought among Catholics was growing weaker, whereas in Catholic theological schools the ideas of Bossuet were still being expounded.

(1) Quoted by CHEREL, "De Télémaque à Candide", pp.376-377.

(2) E. FAGUET, "Politique comparée", p.134.

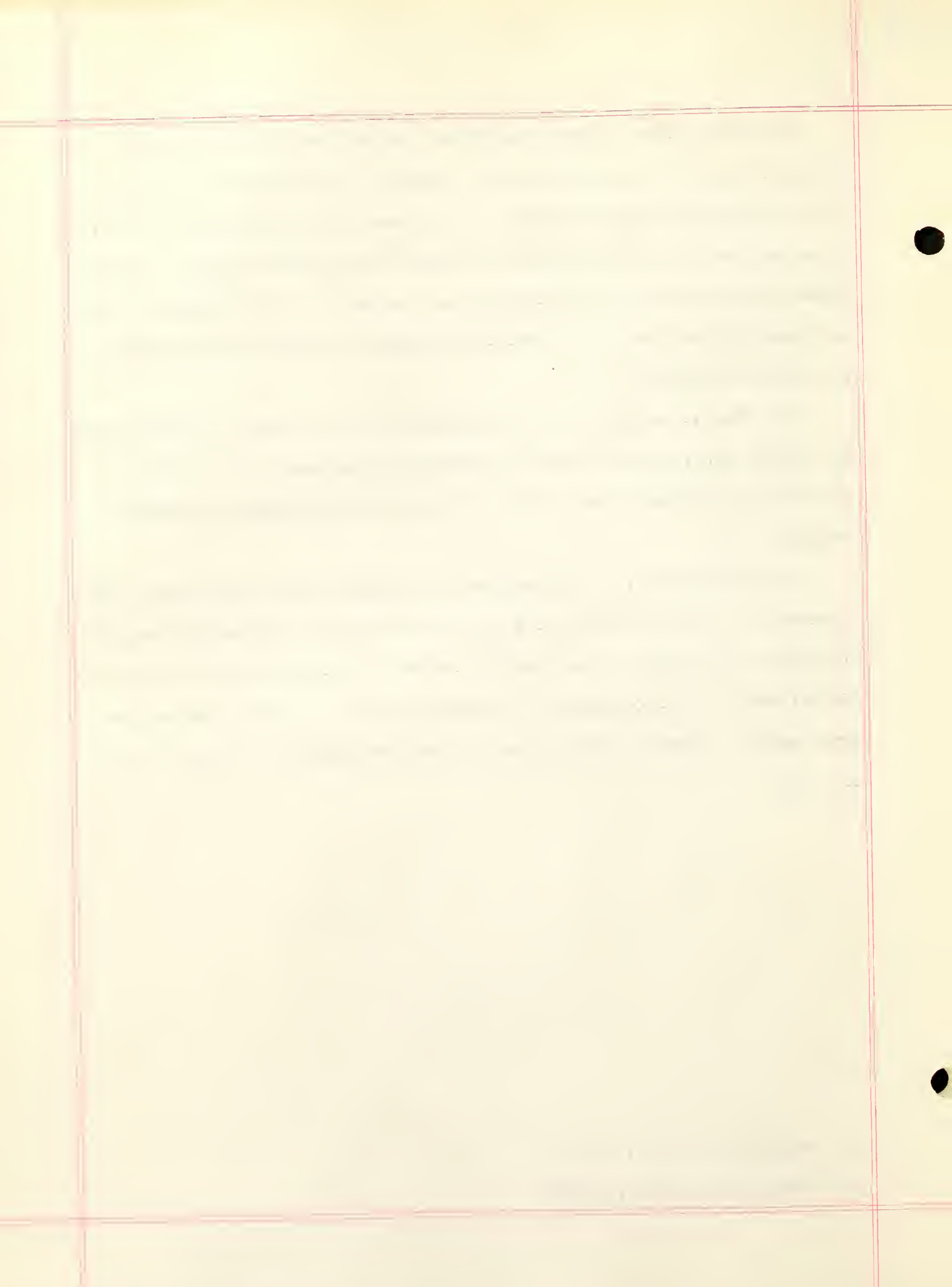
The final review of Church and State problems between 1660 and 1760 brings us back to our starting-point. Bossuet's "Histoire des variations", with its well-meant aggressiveness but too sharp affirmations, was partly responsible for the profound evolution traced in the present chapter. Bossuet himself had been obliged to recognize that the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) had been fruitless and that persecution against the "incoercible resistance of souls" had failed. (1)

"The dialectics as well as the scholarship of the famous Catholic Bishop had largely contributed to make the Reformation conscious of its false position and to generate from it the very germs of free-thinking, heretofore avoided." (2)

Those "germs of free-thinking" were developed by the "philosophes", who attacked the existing social order from the standpoint of theoreticians, or scientists. The study of the relation between the economic system known as "Colbertism" and the reactions of reformers toward its insufficiencies presents another aspect in the evolution of the trend against the divine right of Kings.

(1) REBELLIAU, op. cit., p.79.

(2) REBELLIAU, op. cit., p.153.



V.

COLBERTISM AND PHILOSOPHISM

From a practical administrative and economic system to a spirit of radical criticism of the existing social order.

(1675-1720)

- I. Colbert (1619-1683)
His fiscal, financial and economic system.
- II. Origins of the new method of criticism:
Deism and social philosophy
 - Cartesianism
 - Libertinage
 - Bayle
- III. The origins of the idea of civil toleration: the orthodox Calvinist and the "Tolérants" (1670-1700)

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Colbertism is described by Henri HAUSER in the following terms: "...As minister of finance he (Colbert) attempted to establish order through definite estimates of future receipts and expenses and through elimination of waste. Although he was not able to change the deplorable system of taxation he managed to improve the position of the peasants by revising the lists. ... His economic theories were mostly those of Richelieu. ... He sought to make an economic unit of the nation by substituting uniform duties at the frontier for the multitude of provincial duties. ... He conceived of the development of economic life as a public service and, like Richelieu, inveighed against the idleness of the nobles and the desire of the middle class for public office. ... The essential points in his economic policy were preventing the export of useful materials; attracting raw materials from abroad; prohibiting or at least taxing heavily imports of foreign manufacturers; seeking outlets for French products; establishing in France new industries by inducements to skilled workers from France and from abroad; creating, as Henry IV and Richelieu had attempted, royal manufactures; ... reestablishing abroad a reputation for French products...

"Colbert also played an important part in the unification and codification of the laws through ordinances on civil and on criminal procedure. ... (1)

(1) "Ordonnance du commerce" (1673); "Ordonnance de la marine"; "Code noir" (The two latter ordinances were proclaimed in 1685, i.e., after Colbert's death.)

"Colbert even played a part in the intellectual supremacy of France under Louis XIV. It was his dream that alongside of the administrative organs controlling the national life a government of experts and savants might be established for the King. ..." (1)

As a matter of fact, the government of Louis XIV was not concerned with philosophical preoccupations in the direction of the affairs of the realm. A "serious practical spirit, corresponding to a need of various precise reforms" was sufficient, though the progressive transformation of the military French monarchy into a society of trade and industry could not go on without any general theories. (2) Colbert, in the presence of the development of commerce and industry, of the extension of economic relations, showed a special enthusiasm. Moreover, the governmental agents, the "Intendants", a part of the cultivated elite of the nation, saw their clear-sightedness and their good intentions constantly upset by the fiscal demands of Royalty. "Before the end of the 18th century several among them know how to disobey royal commands in order to think only of public welfare." (3) Their complaints, their suggestions, were directed only to the government and the masses were kept ignorant of these conceptions elaborated behind the walls of administrative cabinets. However, they were destined to become a part of the avowed program of philosophic system of ideas during the 18th century. A certain relation, mainly an indirect one, between Colbertism and philosophism did exist. "All that Colbert attempted to do has been seen and felt by the great public. The success of several of his enterprises has been appreciated and the failure of all those projects he has not been able to carry out has been the more regret-

(1) Art. - "Colbert" in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. III, 1930, pp.626-627.

(2) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", March 12, 1908.

(3) Eodem loco.

ted. But the ideas of Colbert, whether abstract or practical, had at least considerable mental and spiritual influence." (1)

So far, neither Colbert nor the royal administrators would have been called philosophers during the 18th century. Colbert, Chamillart, Pontchartrain, agreed in certain parts of their program with Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. However, - and the difference is significant, - their projects did not proceed from a general theory. In direct touch with realities, they sought practical and immediate remedies and their mission being to serve the King or to give information to the royal government, their writings were not published. To that extent, their duty toward the general welfare was fulfilled.

Consequently, the political platform of the 18th century does not originate in Colbertism. It was worked out, at first, as a side issue to a prime subject for consideration, - religion. Bossuet, a conservative to the point of fanatical defense of tradition, so little understood the new tendencies that his personal reaction toward them took the form of fear. "Bossuet duped himself into believing that his own rigidly uncompromising attitude was actually but the expression of all orthodox thought." (2) His interpretation and exposition of Christianity appears hereafter as being antisocial.

Meanwhile, Colbertism, as a practical system of public administration, was displaced by a spirit of systematic criticism.

At the origin of this new way of approaching problems of general interest are to be found three main factors: (a) the method of thinking evolved from the philosophy of Descartes and called Cartesianism; (b) Libertinage,

(1) LANSON, op. cit., March 12, 1908.

(2) Victor GIRAUD, "Les étapes du XVIIIème siècle",
In "Revue des deux Mondes", July 15, 1924.

or laxity in morals; (c) the dominant influence of a writer, BAYLE.

A brilliant disciple of Descartes, MALEBRANCHE, published "La Recherche de la Vérité" (1674-75), a treatise on the fusion of Christian mysticism and philosophical rationalism. This building up in the line of orthodoxy of a free Christian philosophy captivated the well-educated public, while creating favorable circumstances for an accrued intellectual activity. It placed emphasis on the importance of rational concepts.

Around 1680 certain manifestations of Deism appearing in France are indicated in writings such as "La Terre Australe" (1676) by Gabriel DE FOIGNY, the "Histoire des Sévarambes" (1679) by Denis VAIRASSE d'Alais. The writer of the first book mentioned was an unfrocked Franciscan from Louvain. In his novel, "La Terre Australe", no theology, no mysticism, but a matter-of-fact rationalistic attitude prevails. The author "turns his attention toward reason for a possible organization of peace and comfort for humanity." (1) The second writer, Vairasse, is a Protestant; his "Histoire des Sévarambes", a work of fiction, presents a deistic and a social philosophy having little in common with Cartesian standards. The "Sévarambes", as they are described by Vairasse, belong to a country where French courtesy, consideration and compliments are unknown. They appreciate above all justice, good government, innocence, sobriety, love, and charity. Rulers and magistrates of this country derive no real glory from conquests outside the realm, but from a just and efficient administration. The laws of the Sévarambes aim at suppressing pride through equality, avarice through a community of goods, laziness through compulsory labor during a day of eight hours. All men are born equal. Individual ownership is not permitted. Marriage is required of young men, polygamy al-

(1) LANSON, "Cours et conférences", April 2, 1908.

lowed. Children are brought up by the State. The Sévarambes believe in the existence of an eternal, infinite and almighty God. The sun is a subordinate God, visible and glorious. The fatherland is itself subordinate to the sun and to the Sovereign God. The Sévarambes know toleration, freedom of conscience and of controversy. Only one public worship is authorized. The abomination of celibacy, as it appears in this novel, reflects one of the familiar themes of Protestant controversy at the end of the 17th century.

A proof of the development of Deism is to be found also in a publication entitled "Nouvel athéisme renversé" by Francis LAMI, a challenge to Spinoza, whose influence could be traced in France during this period. Spinoza, in every quarter, was viewed as an atheist. Francis Lami, for his part, denounced Spinoza's mischievous ambition of establishing a mere political and civil religion by doing away with a divine providence, a divine will and ethics.

Spinoza was accused of proffering a doctrine the essence of which was that man ought to abandon himself to natural instincts. With Saint-Evremond's philosophy, libertinage, or elegant licentiousness and superficial irreligion, received a distinguished form and a conservative explanation. This writer "represents an average of diversified minds. His mediocrity is significant and for this very reason his views appealed to many people. ... Hereafter, libertinage was no longer a scandal and a provocation. Deism at this time was actually the meeting-place of every doctrine and of every one of those who were impatient of the burden of orthodoxy and searching after freedom." (1)

In his discussion, Saint-Evremond starts from Pascal's principle, stating that man left alone with himself feels unhappy but his conclusions are

(1) GIRAUD, eodem loco, p.350.

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quite contrary; to him, faith and reason have nothing in common. One must adopt the ruler's religion; tyranny is justifiable, insofar as free thinking in secret is allowed to individuals. (1)

As to atheism, it remained a strictly individual matter up to the time when its scattered trends were co-ordinated into a particular and powerful doctrine. BAYLE was the artisan of that evolution, because "he was the epitome of almost every movement of free examination since antiquity." (2) Neither a theologian nor an interpreter of Biblical texts, he did possess above all a spirit of universal "curiosity". Being a Cartesian, he was, of course, a resolute partisan of the principle of rational evidence; being a Protestant, he was accustomed to compare texts. In short, his frame of mind was essentially and strongly intellectual.

The foremost work of BAYLE is the "Dictionnaire historique et critique" (1697), wherein is exposed his smiling and quiet scepticism. This dictionary "is the compendium of both Bayle's thought and of his scepticism in general. Almost all of the vulgar and refined objections scrutinized by the irreligious literature of the 18th century are to be found in Bayle's Dictionary." (3) The "Encyclopédie" was only the revised and augmented edition of the Dictionary, since Diderot was a "fanaticized Bayle", his extreme disciple.

Bayle did not work out political principles, and insofar as social realities were concerned, we must acknowledge that his ideas were poor and obscure. He had no confidence in a good monarchy; he did not approve of a polyarchy. "Admitting the unfairness of allowing a despot to constrain the natural liberty

(1) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", May 21, 1908.

(2) LANSON, op. cit., July 9, 1908.

(3) GIRAUD, op. cit., p.355.

of his subjects, it is none the less iniquitous to see the collective will of a mob constraining the liberty of a sole man." (1) So Bayle does not accept the doctrine of many of his co-religionists concerning popular sovereignty. The warp and woof of his politics seem to be reduced to peace and tranquility. A philosopher, Bayle was not all a reformer. Nevertheless, "as to methods, ideas, arguments, no writer of Louis XIV's century has more than Bayle bequeathed of himself to the following century." (2) When he was striving to demolish Revelation, Bayle was ipso facto undermining the principle of authority and in the long run of every authority. In this connection, whereas in order to excel or to find its way among writers, philosophers and men of letters, one seemed to have only to follow commonly accepted standards and beaten paths, in fact the guiding principles of French classicism, based upon Greek and Roman models, were seriously endangered. The so-called "querelle des Anciens et des Modernes" lasted a long time; it was an aspect of the ever-recurring struggle for and against the status quo; it meant a profound revolution in ideas and methods of approach. One of its significant results was the discarding of the authority of the classics as being sterile. The reliance upon quotation of the latter, backed by the famous and traditional aphorism "magister dixit" was henceforward considered as irrelevant not only in literary production but in every other field. It must be recalled that the Cartesian reason, as an art of thought, had been of tremendous help in building up Classicism, which at bottom meant poised, balanced and rigid rules of thinking and of expression. This classical ideal was too delicate and too conservative to be kept intact. It was bound to be destroyed by the logical

(1) LANSON, "Cours et conférences", July 9, 1908.

(2) LANSON, op. cit., July 9, 1908.



progress of the so-called "raison raisonnante". To put it in a different way, becoming combative and aggressive, reason could not help but ruin traditional creeds and beliefs. This evolutionary process was carried so far as to take the appearance of a dictatorship of rational concepts at the end of the 18th century and, in politics, produced what was known under the phrase of "enlightened despotism".

All these explanations were necessary to understand the important role played by Bayle, which will now be studied more closely. This writer was esteemed as outstanding by his contemporaries, Protestants and Catholics alike. In his writings he revealed a single ambition: the defeat of his adversary. "All the dust of ideas or of short stories which he stirs up as if he were playing is used only to conceal his real thought; his discursive dialectics is a manner of screen for his secret dogmatism." (1)

Bayle's method is well illustrated by his attitude toward Catholics. In 1685, a year marked by the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, Bayle, inspired by the death of his brother, who was a victim of religious persecution, wrote without confessed authorship, "Ce que c'est que la France toute Catholique sous le règne de Louis-le-Grand", and in 1686 "Commentaire philosophique sur ces paroles de Jésus-Christ - contrains-les d'entrer". These books are probably, at least in so far as France is concerned, the first exposition of the principle of toleration, inconceivable then for Catholics and Protestants alike. (2) The ideas of Bayle on toleration were used as a starting-point and as background by many authors of the 18th century. Bayle believed that papism must be banished and characterized a persecutor as a being animated

(1) GIRAUD, op. cit., p.354.

(2) At Geneva, Sébastien Castellion protested against the execution of Michel Servet (1553).

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology used in the study.

The second part of the paper presents the results of the study. It includes a detailed analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the findings.

The third part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and provides recommendations for future research. It also includes a conclusion and a list of references.

The fourth part of the paper provides a detailed analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the findings. It includes a conclusion and a list of references.

The fifth part of the paper provides a detailed analysis of the data collected and a discussion of the findings. It includes a conclusion and a list of references.

with a delirium of persecution, leading society to ruin, "a monster, half-priest, half dragon; an arguing missionary; a plundering soldier; a hypocrite, a robber, a soul without mercy, without equity, without humanity." (1) Bayle refused to accept the literal and vulgar meaning given by persecutors to the phrase "compelle intrare"; every dogma which could not furnish rational evidence sprang from a very weak authority. "A literal interpretation which considers the complaints of early Christians against their persecutors as vain, is erroneous. But even such is the literal interpretation of the words 'compel them to enter'; consequently it is false." (2) At last, in order to demonstrate the absurd uselessness of persecution, Bayle placed in the mouth of a Chinese the following answer to Christians complaining of persecution in China.

"Messieurs, de quoi vous plaignez-vous? on vous traite comme vous nous traiteriez si vous étiez à notre place, ainsi vous devez approuver notre prudence, et vous plaindre du tems et non pas de nous. Le tems ne vous est pas favorable, nous sommes les plus forts; la prudence veut que nous ne manquions pas aux occasions que la fortune nous donne de fouler aux piez, une secte qui en veut non seulement à nos temples et à nos Dieux, mais aussi à nos vies et à nos consciences. Votre Dieu vous a commandé expressément de contraindre à le suivre tout venant; que feriez-vous donc si vous aviez la force en main, que faire mourir tous ceux qui ne pourraient pas se résoudre à trahir les lumières de leur conscience pour adorer votre Dieu crucifié?" (3)

To Bayle, no one is qualified to proclaim an absolute truth, because everyone is more or less influenced by his own education, his passions. A party, when it succeeds in becoming the strongest, will not tolerate any other

(1) Quoted by Frank PUAUX, "Les précurseurs français de la tolérance au XVIIème siècle", p.56.

(2) Quoted by Frank PUAUX, op. cit., p.58.

(3) BAYLE, "Commentaire", Preface LXIV.

party and in return will impose its own views on toleration. Moreover, sincere believers, simply because they are sincere, burn with a desire to annihilate creeds differing from their own. The supremacy of one religion is accompanied by its tyrannical dominance. Also, the presence of several religions in one state generally produces civil strife. Bayle was convinced that after all has been said, moral conscience is to be preferred to "religious conscience" and human authority is bound to bow to the mysterious power of that moral conscience.

We have arrived at a point where the reactions of the Huguenots require mentioning. JURIEU, for years a devoted defender of the Calvinistic faith, wrote a reply to Bayle entitled, "Droit des deux souverains en matière de religion; la conscience et le prince", wherein he maintained that conscience does not depend solely upon itself but also upon God. No cruelty, no indifference, an efficient protection for the true religion, here is what Jurieu hoped for. None was so authoritative in his faith as was Jurieu. He aimed at discovering a via media between complete scepticism and papism. As to the latter, he felt that in the long run the Kings of Spain and of France would be obliged to expel it from their states, an action for which they would be thanked by many people.

"It is strange", writes Lanson, "that Jurieu himself, who struggled so much during his whole life for the sake of his creeds, has not been able to realize that toleration ought to be considered a right! He himself claimed toleration, not because any doctrine has the right to be tolerated, but because he was convinced of the truth of his own doctrine. Thence it follows that he did not extend this tolerance he claimed for his own ideas to the opinions of others. He wanted toleration without reciprocity." (1) In 1680 he

(1) LANSON, "Cours et conférences", June 28, 1908, p.745.

had challenged the Catholic Church in his book "La politique du clergé de France" and he had been gratified with an answer from the Catholic clergy, a pamphlet published in 1685, "Conformité de la conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestants avec celle de l'Eglise d'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à l'Eglise Catholique". Here are expressed such ideas as: heresy being the blackest of crimes, its punishment cannot be averted; we do not hesitate to punish those who kill bodies, why then should we be afraid to get rid of those who destroy souls? heretics may be brought back to the fold by legal threats; so far as it is within the law, the menace of temporal punishment can exert also a good influence on stubborn people, such as Huguenots.

It is obvious that at the end of the 17th century, in so far as religious-minded people were concerned, the idea of toleration, generally speaking, was inconceivable. The word "toleration" was used for the first time in "Tolérance des religions", a book published in 1684. The author, BASNAGE de BEAUVAIL, expressed himself with moderation and advanced no practical conclusion. "In this writing, where Basnage proved to be a talented writer, are to be found many wise remarks as to persecution and toleration" (1) but no general views.

The fact that Basnage was a Protestant did not mean that his views were commonly shared by Huguenots. Orthodox Calvinists were actually frightened by such novelties coming from the pen of Bayle, who, it has already been noted, was challenging intolerance and disapproving of a magistrate entrusted with the power to protect truth. A staunch defender of the faith, like Jurieu, could not even face the thought of a complete toleration, because to him it would have meant religion left defenseless against the enterprises of heretics

(1) LANSON, eodem loco.

and sectarians. He was so bitter as to denounce D'Huisseau, the pioneer of this movement. (1)

Without the permission of Protestant authorities, D'Huisseau, a cleric, had published in 1670 "De la Réunion du Christianisme", contending that since the Apostles' Creed contains all the fundamentals of the Christian religion, all that comes afterwards historically creates differences of beliefs among the Churches. The "Réunion du Christianisme" had been condemned and the author deposed by the Synod of Anjou.

Most of the controversies waged amidst Calvin's followers took place abroad, for the most part, mainly in Holland, and as the French were not informed of them their developments could not be of general interest. It is not until the first years of the 18th century that their results became apparent.

The Huguenots were suffering not only from outside persecution but also from internal differences. One of their main problems was to know which procedure to follow, the toleration or exclusion of dissenters. Jurieu recalled to faithful Calvinists their promise of submission to their Synods; (2) these Synods, however, when dealing with difficulties arising from religious matters, were bound to move within certain limits; they were not empowered with the exclusion of faithful members, except in case of fundamental principles

(1) NOTE: JURIEU, in his "Lettre pastorale aux fidèles de Paris, d'Orléans et de Blois sur le scandale arrivé à Paris le 15 janvier 1690, par l'apostasie de M. Papin..." (1690) remarked: "Ce malheureux esprit nous était inconnu avant l'an 1669. Mais il y a environ vingt ans qu'un pasteur demeurant à Saumur, homme d'ailleurs grave et sage, se laissa séduire par la lecture d'Episcopus et s'oublia jusqu'à publier un livre sous le titre 'De la Réunion du Christianisme'."

cf. LANSON, "Cours et conférences", June 28, 1908.

(2) "Traité de la puissance de l'Eglise dans lequel on découvre la source de cette puissance" (1677) - Reference from PUAUX, op. cit., p.103.

being attacked or endangered. (1)

This submissive spirit, which Jurieu presented as a test for Huguenot orthodoxy, was by no means characteristic of all.

AUBERT de VERSE¹, who wrote anonymously "Le Protestant pacifique ou traité de la paix avec l'Eglise" (1684) attempted to demonstrate that Protestants, were they determined to remain faithful to their convictions, ought to tolerate all Christians. BAYLE, in his "Commentaire philosophique" (1686), already mentioned, took the stand that granting true religion had the right to do a certain thing, false religions may claim the selfsame right; he was advocating for conscience the right of erring, a position which could not but grieve Jurieu. Isaac PAPIN, in his book "La foi réduite à ses véritables principes et renfermée dans ses justes bornes" (1687), (preface by BAYLE), proffers a doctrine of toleration issuing from his profound respect for the Scriptures.

On April 24, 1686, these attempts at reforms in the Reformation itself were denounced by the Synod of Walloon Churches in the Netherlands:

Art. VI: "La compagnie qui a souverainement à coeur de maintenir l'orthodoxie et l'uniformité des sentiments entre ceux qui sont appelés parmi nous à prêcher la doctrine de vérité et l'Evangile de paix, s'étant appliquées sérieusement et religieusement les justes précautions qu'elle doit prendre pour fermer la porte à des innovations dangereuses, et après plusieurs prières adressées à Dieu à ce sujet, à déclarer aucun pasteur appellable parmi nous, qu'il ne nous ait assuré de sa conformité de sentiments avec notre profession de foi en général." (2)

(1) "Au reste le péril qu'il y ait autant de religions que de testes n'est pas à craindre. Il n'y a guères de testes propres à faire des religions." JURIEU, quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., p.103.

(2) Quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., pp.195-196.

The Synod of August 1690 at Rotterdam reveals the same trends:

"Après les précautions judicieuses qui furent prises en l'année 1686 à Rotterdam, et les règlements justes et charitables que fit le Synode de ces Provinces pour conserver la vérité de la Religion dans toute sa pureté, nous avions espéré, qu'avec la bénédiction de Dieu, on la verrait fleurir parmi nous dans une parfaite concorde. Cependant nous aprenons, par les mémoires et les instructions de plusieurs Eglises que quelques esprits inquiets et téméraires, frustant nos espérances et nos désirs, sèment dans le public et dans le particulier des erreurs capitales et d'autant plus dangereuses que sous les noms affectés de la charité et de la Tolérance, elles tendent à faire glisser dans l'âme des simples le poison du Socianisme et l'indifférence des Religions." (1)

The Synod at Amsterdam condemned peremptorily and unanimously those propositions aiming toward civil and ecclesiastical toleration. In France the preceding year, (October, 1689) VAUBAN had presented to Louvois a report "Pour le rappel des Huguenots", wherein economic reasons were used in defense of Calvinism. He had indicated that a large part of commerce had been ruined; that foreign armies had been increased by five to six hundred officers, and by ten to twelve thousand soldiers. Vauban was bold enough to write:

"Les rois sont bien maîtres des vies et des biens de leurs sujets, mais jamais de leurs opinions, parce que les sentiments intérieurs sont hors de leurs puissance et que Dieu seul peut diriger comme il lui plaît." (2)

To which LOUVOIS answered simply, "I have read your report, and found therein, though somewhat exaggerated, some very good things." (3)

Conciliation did not seem possible, even among orthodox French Protestants in Holland. Gédéon HUET, in "Apologie pour les vrais tolérants", (1690)

(1) Quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., pp.199-200.

(2) VAUBAN, quoted by BONET-MAURY, "Histoire de la liberté de conscience en France depuis l'Edit de Nantes jusqu'à juillet 1870", p.59

(3) Quoted by BONET-MAURY, op. cit., p.59.

argued that real toleration means impunity for heretics, their persons, their honor, and their goods. Intolerant orthodoxy is a menace to public order. He takes the same stand as Bayle, that a heretic has a claim to the same rights as a man of orthodox faith. No Christianity can be found among Christian states until there is toleration. Huet, naturally, was condemned by the Synod at Leyden (May 2, 1691).

An unknown author, in 1690, wrote an "Avis important aux réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France donne pour étrennes à l'un d'eux en 1690". It was not difficult to discover that the author was Bayle himself. In order to understand his "Avis important aux réfugiés", it must be noted that up to 1688 religious preoccupations had occupied the first place among Protestants. But from this date on they formed political intrigues with the aim of uniting Lutherans and Calvinists against Louis XIV. Jurieu had been up to 1713 the moving spirit of the committees at the Hague and at Rotterdam. "His policy was violent, due to his impatient nature. It set fire to the four corners of France. Since 1689 he had been proclaiming the right, the holiness of resistance to tyrants." (1)

Obviously, was not the expedition of William of Orange to England, according to the ambition of the Refugees, aimed at a European revolution with their own victory in France as a result? Bayle, on the contrary, in his "Avis important", drew up an apology for Louis XIV and his policy. Jurieu had just defended popular sovereignty. Consequently, Bayle asked the refugees to renounce for ever their "mauvais esprit républicain". But Jurieu (April 13, 1705) stigmatizes this most dangerous and clever atheist:

(1) DEDIEU, "Le rôle politique des protestants français", p.9.

"C'est l'athée le plus dangereux qui ait esté depuis plusieurs siècles, parce qu'ayant plus d'esprit qu'aucun d'eux, il sçait mettre les difficultés dans un air de ressemblance et de vérité que les profanes n'avaient pas encore rencontré. C'est un grand exemple de cette tolérance excessive que vous et moy n'approuvons pas." (1)

Meanwhile, there appeared attempts at conciliation. John LOCKE gave to the public in 1689 his first publication, printed in Holland: "Epistola de Tolerantia", which "agreed so well with the ideas of the refugees that people thought to discover the writing of the Minister, Jacques Bernard." (2) PHILIPOT, a former minister of Clairac, published in 1691 "Les justes bornes de la Tolérance avec la défense des Mystères du Christianisme", wherein he declared:

"Toutes les sectes du monde, quelque'elles soient, pourvu que leur créance n'aille pas à la ruine de la société civile doivent être laissées en repos." (3)

The same year, BASNAGE, in his "Traité de conscience", emphasized the inconsistency of Bayle, who simultaneously attacked and justified persecution. At last, Elie SAURIN, a minister of the Utrecht Church, proved to be the best representative of this via media for which people were now searching, after the exasperation and frenzy of the first days. The publication by Elie Saurin of the "Réflexions sur les droits de la conscience" marked practically the end of Calvinistic controversies. Saurin explained that the extreme being in fact very rare, the "Réformés" as a whole were situated between indifference and toleration. It is seemingly more useful than glorious to defend moderate solutions. God is the first author of secular powers and we cannot understand

(1) JURIEU, quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., p.209.

(2) Ch. BASTIDE, "John Locke", p.112.

(3) PHILIPOT, quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., p.143.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. The President talks about the war with Mexico, and about the relations between the United States and Great Britain. He also talks about the economy, and about the progress of the country. The letter is written in a very formal style, and it is very well organized. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting letters that I have ever read.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. The Secretary talks about the war with Mexico, and about the relations between the United States and Great Britain. He also talks about the economy, and about the progress of the country. The letter is written in a very formal style, and it is very well organized. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting letters that I have ever read.

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5. The fifth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Navy to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. The Secretary talks about the war with Mexico, and about the relations between the United States and Great Britain. He also talks about the economy, and about the progress of the country. The letter is written in a very formal style, and it is very well organized. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting letters that I have ever read.

the secrets of His Providence. The rights of the conscience depend upon God and consequently can never be prescribed. People therefore cannot alienate their conscience. The ruler, however, is entitled to interfere with religion in order to put an end to false religions and heresies, but within limits.

"On ne doit ni faire, ni commander le moindre péché, quand on s'en promettrait la conversion de tout un royaume ou même de tout l'Univers. ... Si le Prince trouve dans les lois de l'Etat quelque chose dont sa religion et sa conscience ne s'accommodent point, il doit plutôt renoncer à la couronne qu'à la bonne conscience. Un roi n'a plus de droit à la couronne quand il ne peut conserver ce droit que par un crime." (1)

So, to Elie SAURIN, the ruler is not allowed to commit evil in order to obtain a good. (2) Saurin, however, did not admit of an absolute and complete toleration. He was decidedly opposed to Catholicism; every possible measure must be taken in order to prevent a seizure of political power by the Catholics. He went so far as to advise that discussion should be avoided with the Church of Rome: the only thing to do is to defend oneself against its authoritative pretentions, because he considered the Roman Church as being necessarily the adversary of a government which it does not control.

PUAUX summarizes all these ideas advanced in Huguenot quarters as follows: "It may be ascertained that the first years of the 18th century saw the case for civil toleration triumphant, not entirely in fact but at least in spirit. Ecclesiastical codes still contained repressive laws dictated by an

- (1) E. SAURIN, "Réflexions", pp.496-501, quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., p.148.
- (2) "Les erreurs en matière de religion sont si profondément enracinées dans l'esprit de ceux qui les ont suçées avec le lait, qu'il leur est moralement impossible de s'en défaire quand ils seraient d'ailleurs les plus honnêtes gens du monde. ... Nous sommes donc réduits à nous tolérer les uns les autres, à souffrir que chacun s'imagine qu'il a raison et à traiter ensemble sur ce pied-là."

SAURIN, "Réflexions", p.612, quoted by PUAUX, op. cit., p.155.

authoritarian zeal; nevertheless, it no longer seemed possible to apply them with strict severity." (1) The opinion of Puaux emphasizes the important part played by Protestants in the movement toward toleration. Let us recall that the theory of repression of heretics stirred up a long controversy not exclusively among Calvinists, parties primarily interested. It is noteworthy that the situation was the same among Catholics. The doctrine of enforcing true religion by coercion was far from being a matter of certainty. "Though this theory obtained the approbation of a great many Catholic doctors, the texts of the ecclesiastical Mastership did not insist upon it at all and the question has never been decided." (2) The sophisticated attitude of the Catholic clergy toward Protestants for that reason is largely justifiable. "Everyone knows ... the diversity of opinions which existed amidst the Bishops of France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, concerning legislative measures referring to the 'Nouveaux convertis'." (3) For example, in 1698 the Cardinal of Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, in the name of the King, wrote to all the Bishops of France asking them their advice as to a plan of conduct toward Protestants. The Bishops of the North, among whom LE TELLIER, the Archbishop of Rheims, was the most representative, sought for mitigation; the Bishops of the South, as FLÉCHIER, wanted a certain amount of intervention by public force. On the contrary, the "Intendants", whose counsel was solicited at the same time, proved to be unanimous in demanding severe repression.

In brief, the grounds for dissatisfaction were sufficiently varied and justifiable to focus the attention more and more on the shortcomings of the existing social order. Colbertism, as an administrative organization, as a

(1) PUAUX, op. cit., p.161.

(2) and (3) Yves DE LA BRIÈRE, "Etudes", Tome 129, Oct.-Dec. 1911,
Art: "L'emploi de la force au service de la vraie religion."

financial and economic system, though practical and enlightened in certain aspects, proved in the long run to be a failure. Its effect upon industries was too tyrannical. The drive against the Huguenots was bound also to bring strong reactions, not only from the victims themselves but likewise from friends of peace and progress in general. The enforcement of conformity was found to be no longer practicable.

VI.

THE CHALLENGE TO DIVINE RIGHTS OF KINGSHIP

(1680-1715)

I. FOREIGN INFLUENCES AND NEW POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

- political wisdom of China
- immediate consequences in France of the English Revolution of 1688
- natural law and new political principles: Grotius and Pufendorf
- Locke and the interest in English philosophical and political thought
- newspapers and historians and the ideas put into circulation

II. FEUDAL REACTION AND IDEAS OF REFORM

- the formation of social and cosmopolitan consciousness
- domestic realities and the "patriots"
- Fénelon:
 - "Télémaque" (1691)
 - "Dialogue des morts" (1712)
- Vauban
- Abbé de Saint-Pierre
- influence of the reformers

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1900-1901

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
OFFICE OF THE DEAN
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
JANUARY 1, 1901

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
FROM THE DEAN OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VI.

THE CHALLENGE TO DIVINE RIGHTS OF KINGSHIP

(1680-1715)

Before the political measures of Louis XIV in regard to Protestants had completed the divorce between the majority of French people and a minority which preferred exile to submission, certain information coming from foreign countries had attracted general attention. This information was to be used as an indirect means of criticizing political institutions. We see now the beginning of a new system of criticism through fiction, which was to be developed during the early years of the 18th century, and which was to be progressively abandoned in proportion as freedom of public discussion was achieved.

It should also be remembered that "pyrrhonism", or scepticism, after the fashion of RAIMOND SEBOND, of MONTAIGNE and of CHARRON still had its followers, who were constantly ready to underscore the diversity and the contradictions of opinions and habits among men. The classical spirit had been a form of reaction against this scepticism, since it was largely the feeling as well as the research of identities in human attitudes. As a whole, classical literature and philosophy suppressed time and space with the aim of studying man in general.

At the end of the 17th century travellers' reports and various translations of Middle-Eastern and Far-Eastern books were on the increase. LA MOTHE LE VAYER, in 1642, had already written "Les traités de la vertu des Paiens" and in 1668, "Du peu de certitude qu'il y a dans l'histoire". The Jesuits, in 1687, published "Confucius Sinarum philosophus". The great enthusiasm for

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for China in France after 1702 was the result of various publications by missionaries to China. The Jesuits had given to the French a high idea of Chinese political wisdom. "Reason, liberty, equality of religions, a truer man of nature than the so-called civilized man, these pass-words, barely uttered by the philosophy of the 18th century, seem very likely to have received encouragement, not from the Society of Jesus, of course, but as a result of the romantic manner which its missionaries had given to their own feelings concerning human nature such as they saw it among Americans and among the Chinese people." (1) Consequently, people spoke often of the Chinese toleration. Their morality seemed so much the more admirable because it was natural. BERNIER wrote in the "Journal des Savants" (June 7, 1688) that LA MOTHE LE VAYER could not refrain from saying: "Sancte Confuci, ora pro nobis." "What, then, would he not have said of him had he been a Christian?" The opinion currently admitted by scholars was that well-educated Chinese people were atheists. (2)

It is easy to understand, then, that when admiring the virtue of Chinese people, as well as their political wisdom, apparently innocent comparisons were drawn with the existing conditions in France. "If people do not offensively use Chinese things, they point out that in this civilization which is neither Hellenic, nor Latin, nor Christian, virtue and tolerance are practised. Consequently, morals and religion must be separated; it is a matter-of-fact argument." (3) Let us recall that up to that time French literature

(1) Albert CHÉREL, "De Télémaque à Candide", p.24.

(2) cf. Virgile PINOT, "La Chine et la formation de l'Esprit philosophique en France" - Paris, 1933.

Gilbert CHINARD, "L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIIème et XVIIIème siècle", Paris, 1913.

(3) Gustave LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", March 18, 1909, p.71.

had placed its characters in a Greek or Roman environment. The Oriental atmosphere, so different from European customs, was an excellent means to throw off police and authority. "People of China, Siam, India, Persia and of Turkey were used to entertain the public at the expense of official institutions and prejudices." (1)

Further material for controversy was provided during the same period by the numerous pamphlets printed in Holland by Protestants and introduced into France. The events of 1688 in England were a source of an enthusiastic fervor as far as the Huguenots were concerned. They glorified William of Orange and his ancestors, recounted tales of his expedition, and made a compilation of all speeches, declarations and addresses provoked by it. "Protestant refugees see in these events a striking revenge of the Revocation, a threat toward the ruler who obliged them to fly, the promise to them of an imminent return which the new King, appointed protector of Protestants, will be able to impose on Louis XIV." (2) At the beginning of 1689, in France Dom DENIS DE SAINTE MARTHE condemned the expedition of William of Orange, as a logical sequence to Protestant principles. ANTOINE ARNAUD drew up "Le véritable portrait de Guillaume Henry de Nassau, nouvel Absalon, nouvel Hérode, nouveau Cromwell, nouveau Néron." (1689) The same year LA BRUYÈRE noted:

"La conscience française a été par l'avènement, profondément, douloureusement ébranlée; pendant de longues années, elle réagira à ce souvenir. Tous sont indignés, même ceux qui font profession de plaisanter." (3)

(1) LANSON, eodem loco, p.73.

(2) ASCOLI, op. cit., Tome I, p.166.

(3) LA BRUYÈRE, 4th edition of "Caractères", paragraphs 113 and 119.

French people generally agreed with LA BRUYÈRE; they expected to see another revolution break forth soon. Whereas the coronation of William III at Westminster on April 11, 1689, aroused a congenial curiosity among all the Protestants of Europe, the French Catholic pamphleteers tried to present those ceremonies under a ridiculous and odious aspect. Moreover, the French Catholics were scandalized by the attitude of the pope, Innocent XI. "In reality, Pope Innocent XI, who disapproved of the bold and foolish initiative of James in favor of the English Catholics, just as some years earlier he had dreaded the consequences of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, did not want to imperil his cause in sustaining James; but French Catholics preferred to accuse him of giving the first place to his personal grudge against Louis XIV in opposition to the general interests of Catholicism." (1) When in October, 1697, William III was recognized as King of England by Louis XIV through the treaty of Ryswick, the people of France were finally reduced to silence.

Such were the rather limited reactions of public opinion in France on the occasion of the Revolution of 1688 and to its consequences. The interpretation and understanding of the real significance of these various changes in England came from abroad. The French Protestants exiled to England had seen the Revolution of 1688 with their own eyes. As has been indicated, it raised their hopes because it looked to them like the triumph of the principles which they were defending. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had already transformed its religious aspect into a political question and consequently they had come to discuss the very foundations of civil authority. Since, on the other hand, they were interested in their new fatherland, "they felt the need to justify

(1) ASCOLI, *op. cit.*, T. I., p.166.

themselves in the face of Europe, of France. Accordingly, they examined the groundwork and the conditions of obedience due to the sovereign." (1) This question in itself was old but the circumstances were new. The Huguenots attacked absolutism unceasingly, and at the same time popularized progressively in France English political and philosophical ideas. JURIEU, from September 1, 1686, to July 1, 1689, wrote his "Lettres pastorales adressées aux fidèles de France qui gémissent sous la captivité de Babylone." Throughout these sixty-nine letters JURIEU proclaimed and emphasized the right to revolt because, he said, sovereignty comes from the people.

"Les peuples font les rois et leur donnent la puissance. Or la cause doit être en quelque sorte plus noble que l'effet; les rois assurément sont au-dessus des peuples; mais aussi les peuples, à certains égards sont au-dessus des rois. C'est précisément ce que les théologiens de l'Eglise gallicane disent du Pape: il est au-dessus de toute l'Eglise, il en est le chef; cependant, toute l'Eglise est au-dessus de lui. Il est certain du moins que personne ne donne ce qu'il n'a pas et ne peut avoir. Le peuple fait les souverains et donne la souveraineté." (Letter XVI.)

Moreover, stated JURIEU, there is between rulers and the people a mutual pact. The rights of the people cannot be prescribed, even if violence is rationalized afterwards.

"La violence ne saurait prescrire contre les droits fondés sur la nature." (Letter XVII.)

Finally, when the sovereign becomes a tyrant, the people are automatically released from their oath of obedience to him. We know already that all Protestants did not agree with Jurieu's viewpoint. "It will be necessary to arrive at the 'Contrat Social' in order to find again the doctrines contained in the 'Lettres Pastorales' of Jurieu. These were written outside of France

(1) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", April 24, 1909, p.310.

and people were not yet ready to listen to the words of Protestant refugees." (1)

Generally speaking, they met distrust but it was difficult to struggle against the slow infiltration and impact of foreign thought. "Shy, frail and at first opposed, foreign ideas begin to spread; their significance grows. None is left locked up in its native country; they swarm forth, they pass beyond frontiers..... These obscure births, these difficult beginnings, these boldnesses which are slowly matured owing to travel and migrations, fill up the end of the 17th century....." (2)

The royal absolutism still maintained its solid appearance, while there were marshalled against it new political principles supported by the concept of natural law. "Among foreign writers, two men exerted a considerable influence on our social conscience: GROTIUS and PUFENDORF." (3) At the same time, the French 16th century experienced a revival of credit and of authority. For example, DIECKMANN, in his "De Naturalismo" (1684) revealed the six books of the "Heptamères" by JEAN BODIN. As a result of the revived curiosity in this work, BODIN obtained an immediate posthumous success. His "République" also found new readers because of the fact that politics was now a vital question.

As to GROTIUS, he was in a way a revelation to the French. The "De jure belli ac pacis" had been dedicated to Louis XIII in 1625. (4) But it remained

(1) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", April 24, 1909, p.311.

(2) HAZARD, "Revue des deux Mondes", September 1, 1932.

(3) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", 1909, p.507.

(4) GROTIUS was translated into French for the first time by DE COURTIN in 1687 and this translation was reprinted in 1703. BARBEYRAC made a new translation, published in 1724, 1729, 1746 and 1749.

a "great book, unknown to the masses, as it happens to those which act the most profoundly upon their destiny." (1) The starting-point of GROTIUS' reflections had been war and its atrocities.

"Je voyais dans l'univers chrétien une débauche de guerres qui eût fait honte même aux nations barbares; pour des causes légères ou sans motif, on courait aux armes et lorsqu'on les avait une fois prises, on n'observait plus aucun respect, ni du droit divin, ni du droit humain, comme si, en vertu d'une loi générale, la fureur avait été déchainée sur la voie de tous les crimes....."

However, maintained GROTIUS, war does not annihilate natural rights. On the contrary, natural law is supreme over war.

"Pendant la guerre, les lois civiles se taisent; mais non pas les lois non écrites que la nature prescrit."

Apparently, such a statement was not new, in view of the evolution of ideas. Grotius did not actually discover natural law. In the Middle Ages, St. THOMAS AQUINAS, for example, established a distinction between eternal, natural, human and divine law. Natural law, to him, was this genuine inclination which bends reasonable creatures toward their real end. But since natural law provides only for certain common and undemonstrable principles, human reason has to complete it by human law. At any rate, natural law, as St. THOMAS AQUINAS, among others, declared, comes from God, its original source. With GROTIUS "the novelty consists in the separation of both terms, which is brought to light; in their separation, which tends to be ascertained; and finally, in an endeavor for conciliation, which by itself opposes the idea of a rupture. And above all, in the still obscure, although already strong feeling, that war, violence, disorder are not checked by the law of God but maintained and justified by his inscrutable designs; perhaps a human law will be suc-

(1) HAZARD, "Revue des deux Mondes", September 1, 1932, p.102.

cessful enough to appease or to abolish all these troubles which men are obliged to suffer. And so, while they excuse themselves for being so bold, they transfer their faith from the Providential order to the order of humanity." (1)

Samuel PUFENDORF, the first teacher of the law of nature and of nations, was translated into French. ("Du droit de la nature et des gens", 1672, and "Du devoir de l'homme et du citoyen suivant la loi naturelle".) Henceforth social life is no longer to be presided over by God but by natural law. These new ideas, as they were expressed by PUFENDORF, were destined to evoke violent protests. But their dissemination could not be checked. Consequently, "in opposition to a royal and divine city, is built up a city of men. It is the second one which soon will attract the crowd, since the multitude will feel itself master and King in its turn. Between countries appeared the law of nations; between rulers and subjects, natural law; and everywhere, independent from God, - nature." (1)

"It was through the doctrine of natural rights that the principles of the Law of Nature, which for two thousand years had operated as a series of beneficent but peaceful maxims, became, in the last quarter of the 18th century a mass of dynamite that shattered an ancient monarchy and shook the civilized world to its very foundations." (2)

The example proffered by England in 1688 was a phase of this ideological

(1) HAZARD, *ibid.*, p.104.

NOTE: The "Journal des Savants" gave an analysis in 1701 of Gérard NOODT's "Dissertatio de jure summi imperii et lege regia", which was a propos of Roman law, a universal political theory. The same journal analyzed in 1701 KESTNER's "Compendium jures universi" and JENTZHEN's "Schediasma morale de principio justii".

(2) William A. ROBSON, "Civilization and the Growth of Law", p.251.

revolution. A divine right King was expelled. The new monarchy was grounded upon principles which were essentially opposed to the system of Louis XIV. It has already been explained how this event had been immediately interpreted in France. How was it that England, yesterday unknown and accounting for practically nothing in French culture, was beginning now to attract and retain interest? Unquestionably because of her particular social and political conditions. Also because of her experimental and practical rationalism, which was clear, easy to understand and which stayed cautiously close to experience and observation. "The opinion is spreading, around the end of the 17th century, that a knowledge of events in England, a knowledge of English literature and philosophy is not unuseful. The people of the social and literary worlds begin to acknowledge England's merits." (1)

For a long time, the literary hegemony had been leaving the frontiers of Latinity. More and more national differences are noticeable as to the manner of understanding the universal classicism. Between 1688 and 1715, England gained the political predominance and commercial supremacy in Europe. Men of letters were honored and rewarded; original spirits showing Europe new ways were seen in every field of thought, as represented by such men as Newton, Locke, Steele, Addison and Swift. English writings dealing with religion, philosophy and science attracted greater attention, this being a period when people were anxious, discontented and impatient for a change. The penetration into France of English ideas was first made by English people who travelled through this country, as Addison in 1699. From 1715 to 1723 Bolingbroke informed French society of the liberty of thought in England. On the other hand, those French people who now went to England proved to be more curious

(1) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", February 25, 1909, p.724.

and more intelligent observers than their predecessors during the 17th century. Voltaire in 1726 and Montesquieu in 1729-30 crossed the Channel. So far as ideas were concerned, the impressions of travellers did not constitute the most important factors. John LOCKE's paramount influence was the one which really mattered. His "Traité du gouvernement civil" was translated by Mazel in 1691. LOCKE's religious liberalism above all pleased the French people, since everything which did not savour of catholicism was attractive in itself. The same was true with regard to his political liberalism. Locke, a philosopher of the Revolution of 1688, followed a well-defined method: in ascertaining energetically the independence of reason, he knew at the same time how to fix its limits. Even the Jesuits, who were defiant in their attitude toward metaphysics, on the ground that it was supposed then to open the way to incredulity, had consideration for Locke. Finally, aside from the method and the personal viewpoints of Locke, English political institutions and the supposedly complete English religious freedom retained the attention of French intellectuals. Moreover, the English diplomatic successes enhanced their moral prestige and could not help but reflect favorably on the significance of English ideas.

In England journalism had become a distinct branch of literature; now in France it assumed a heretofore unknown importance. The extraordinary multiplication of newspapers during the first part of the century was remarkable. Several among them lasted several years, some one year only. People wanted to know the facts upon which opinions and creeds were founded. The newspapers, founded and animated by refugees in Holland, with French contributors living in France, kept alive the curiosity of their readers, awakened their taste for discussion by continuing Bayle's tradition. (1) The development of

(1) CHÉREL, "De Télémaque à Candide", p.388.

journalism continued in Holland without being exclusively under the control of foreigners. In France, on the contrary, it had to struggle against the restricting régime of "privilèges", against the distrust of public authorities and vexations from the police.

The so-called political newspapers were not then the most important means of information. Literary organs, the history of which is not yet completed, had their own share of influence, which is not to be discounted.

In view of the growing importance of this means of broadcasting ideas, let us recall that around 1700 discussions were rampant in England. From this battle of ideas, the theory of the rights of popular sovereignty had evolved from an acceptable conception into an intangible dogma. JURIEU, though contradicted by BOSSUET, had presented publicly a defense for popular sovereignty. But his standing in French opinion was not such as to impose his standpoint immediately. In return, the compliments showered on William III by the exiled Huguenots, made conspicuous the idea that the throne in England was to rest henceforth on a contract. "The builders of systems understood how to make the best of this opportunity and during the thirty years to come a flood of arguments was to be directed unceasingly on France, bringing there the fragments of the social contract." (1)

From 1720 to 1730 newspapers were concerned almost exclusively with advertising the concept of the social contract. From 1720 to 1730, demonstration of the rights of the people in their relation with the ruler's authority was their main endeavor. From 1730 to 1740 they were absorbed by the vision of the English Parliament. England was proposed as an object for imitation, because the inhabitants of that country were happy and because despotism was

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.52.

unknown to them. That these statements were consistent with the facts is another question. But people after all, were not anxious to examine thoroughly the mechanism of English political institutions.

The influence of newspapers was well supplemented by the writings of historians, who would be no longer of real interest if they had not helped to the evolution of political ideas. They were expected above all, from 1688 to 1692, to describe the second English Revolution. Serious books and newspapers likewise were then debating the absurdity of passive obedience, the sanctity of revolutions, the rights of people and rights of Kings. After 1700 the characters of the Revolution of 1688 did not receive so much attention as their ideas themselves. Gregorio LEVI, an Italian, had come to defend extreme political conceptions because of the attraction exerted upon him by Protestantism. He wrote in Holland a "Vie d'Elizabeth" and a "Vie d'Olivier Cromwell" (1694), to which little attention was paid in France. But Isaac DE LARREY, in 1697-1698, published an "Histoire d'Angleterre", which achieved a triumphal success. In 1717, RAPIN-THOYRAS, who, on account of his personal relation with William of Orange had seen at first hand the development of English constitutional history, wrote a "Dissertation sur les Whigs et les Tories". This work came just at the time when French opinion was aroused over the English party system. The success of RAPIN-THOYRAS was due to his exposition of principles instead of merely describing events. His originality was appreciated and his manner of understanding relations between laws and liberty made him a leader of French public opinion. Government in England, he explained, was different from others in Europe because liberty was its goal. English people were actually enjoying liberty because they had established a "monarchie mixte", in which the three powers, - the sovereign, the great, or nobles, and the people, - had a share in the government and

counterbalanced one another. Liberty accordingly is due to that separation of powers, and existence of intermediary bodies; it is imperiled as soon as Parliament is suppressed or its members corrupted. RAPIN-THOYRAS was a precursor of MONTESQUIEU. "Before the 'Lettres anglaises' of Voltaire, no book caused so profound an emotion, provoked more discussions, gave a more decisive impulse to the English influence in France." (1)

This infiltration of foreign thought had as a result the formation and the vigorous growth of a social and cosmopolitan consciousness. Even in Paris there was created in 1724 a non-official political Academy, the "Club de l'Entresol", which was closed by the government of Fleury in 1731.

From 1695 to around 1720 was elaborated the movement from which comes the particular attitude of the philosophical spirit of the 18th century toward political institutions. LA BRUYÈRE had already indicated before 1695 some of the misfortunes of France. From that time on, more and more people became interested in public affairs. "It is wrong to say that war against prejudices and the struggle against old institutions are the products of abstract reason, of philosophical thought. But there is a realm which is ruined, there are facts seen and ascertained by VAUBAN and the Intendants, understood by Vauban, Fenelon, Boisguilbert, Boulainvilliers, Fougèrolle: on this matter, their humanity - not at all either blind or stupidly sentimental but simply reasonable - felt sorry for this wretchedness." (2)

Methods and conclusions have been various; the common point has been that the French elite again became interested in the so-called "police", a thing

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.96.

(2) LANSON, "Cours et Conférences", May 27, 1909, p.549.

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which was unknown since the Fronde. People began to call those who criticized institutions and government "patriots" and "citizens". "It appeared then that the duty toward the fatherland should over-ride duty toward the King; a distinction was established between the King and the nation." (1) Moreover, after the death of Louis XIV people felt a passionate desire for peace. People wanted the suppression of despotism or its limitation through the restoration of ancient institutions. It was the feudal reaction inspired by the ideas of Fénelon, Boulainvilliers and Saint-Simon. As to Vauban and Boisguilbert, "they hoped for an agreement between the grandeur of the King and the prosperity of the nation; but they ascertained that royal government actually divided them." (2) Nevertheless, none of them was republican. They did not question the absolute authority of the King but they were anxious to find out a means of advising the King.

Fénelon's book, the "Télémaque", "was the first protest roused in France against Louis XIV." (3) In Idoménée was recognized Louis XIV himself. "Télémaque" was primarily destined for rulers and was presented to them as a textbook for Kings. In 1717 the author Fénelon dedicated to Louis XV his first authentic edition. The best preacher of the Regence, Massillon, drew from the writing of Fénelon the counsels he gave to the young King. His laments on the economic consequences of wars were exactly consistent with the spirit of the "Télémaque". Let us remark that the manner in which Massillon described the duties of Kings toward their subjects recalled the most traditional Christian theology opposed to absolutism.

As to Fénelon, while enjoying the vision of future chimerical cities, he

(1) LANSON, op. cit., p.315.

(2) LANSON, op. cit., p.315.

(3) LANSON, op. cit., p.213.

expressed a profound bitterness showing a repressed anger. His theories remind one of the English tradition in favor of liberty. Besides, he had had relations with the pretender to the throne of England. As says Paul JANET, "Fénelon would have been an admirable director of the King; but this desire of his for spiritual guidance grew naturally and almost unknowingly into a spirit of opposition. Kept within the limits imposed by intimacy, it would have been a fortunate direction but in a book it became a disrespectful audacity." (1) The legend of "Fénelon philosophe" is not false but incomplete. He had been exiled to his diocese by Louis XIV. He had been vanquished by Bossuet, a representative of the social order and of the rule of orthodoxy. Being a victim of despotism, he was consequently looked upon as a liberal.

The fame of the "Télémaque" in Europe, as well as in France itself, was to be considerable. "It is a fact that since its publication in 1699 up to 1760 at least, 'Télémaque' has been the most frequently printed book, the most lengthily commented upon; every year one or two novelists either plagiarized or imitated it, and readers experienced pleasure in acknowledging reminiscences." (2) The reasons for the permanence of this prestige are to be found in the systematization of observation and also in the union of romantic and positive spirit; dispositions which were common to Fénelon and to other writers of the 18th century generally. However, the real goal of Fénelon, in writing "Télémaque", was to re-introduce into the politics of the realm the Gospel's ethics which had been excluded.

The "Dialogue des morts", by the same author, enjoyed a celebrity equal

(1) Paul JANET, "Histoire de la science politique", T. II, 1913, p.294.

(2) CHEREL, "De Télémaque à Candide", p.1.

to that of "Télémaque". (1) We find there the bad King depicted with a kind of satisfaction. The author emphasized the necessity for a King of placing feelings of humanity above his personal grandeur. Laws are superior to princes:

"Il ne faut pas que l'homme règne; il faut qu'il se contente de faire régner les lois. S'il prend la royauté pour lui, il la gâte et se perd lui-même; il ne doit l'exercer que pour le maintien des lois et le bien des peuples."

Being restricted within the limits of the laws, the King is compelled to respect the rights of the individual. Fénelon strove to discover combinations affording a slow transition from such despotism as that of Louis XIV toward a "gouvernement des notables". As a matter of fact, Fénelon was himself too much an aristocrat, too much convinced of the importance of the noblesse, to give a complete consent to the parliamentary regime. To him, masses were not able to govern themselves. He taught his contemporaries that the problem of liberty, apparently solved in England, was still in question.

A. M. RAMSAY, whose relations with Fénelon will be explained later, wrote in 1721 the "Essai philosophique sur le gouvernement civil". The ideas expressed therein are those of Fénelon. "They were timid, for a philosopher, but for a contemporary of Louis XIV they seemed audacious." (2) It was said that the King had no right to infringe on the persons, the acts, the property, or the intellectual freedom of citizens. He was free to recommend a cult, but not to defend such or such a creed. The rights of the Crown were merely conventional; they had nothing of the divine. In return, English ideas of contract, of popular sovereignty, of right of revolt, were rejected.

(1) Published in 1712 - Ramsay in 1718, after Fénelon's death, gave a more complete edition.

(2) LANSON, op. cit., p.211.

In 1734 RAMSAY gave to the public his "Examen de conscience d'un roi", banned by the royal government and destined not to reappear until 1774. The King, as depicted in this work, was well-educated; he was concerned above all with the good administration of public welfare. The necessity of reacting against the spirit of conquest and of judiciary and administrative reforms were also emphasized. "But," explains LANSON, "we cannot forget the compliant, ardent, ambitious feudal temper which dreamed of a reestablishment of former privileges, which was ready to weaken royalty but for the benefit of the nobility and also of the clergy; he was a priest at the same time that he was a great lord." (1)

Other writers, contemporaries of Fenelon, who were called "patriots", are not so famous as the bishop himself. For example, Boisguilbert, in his "Détail de la France", (1695), asked for the convention of the General Estates, which would renew the interest in the general welfare.

"Dans les moyens tant ordinaires qu'extra-ordinaires que l'on emploie pour trouver de l'argent au roi, on considère la France à l'égard du prince comme un pays ennemi."

BOULAINVILLIERS, author of the "Etat de la France" (1727), agreed with Boisguilbert on that point. He popularized all the defects and abuses such as the Intendants themselves had acknowledged.

VAUBAN wrote his "Projet d'une dîme royale" in 1707. (2) He has been compared to Sully. Fontenelle said of him he was "a Roman that our age had apparently stolen away from those happy times of the Republic", and his epitaph read "patriam dilexit, veritatem coluit". No doubt he was more accurately and directly informed of the needs of the Kingdom than a Louvois or a

(1) LANSON, op. cit., p.211.

(2) VAUBAN's "Mes oisivetés" was not published until between 1843 and 1846.

Colbert.

"La vie errante que je mène depuis quarante ans et plus, m'ayant donné occasion de voir et visiter plusieurs fois, et de plusieurs façons, la plus grande partie des provinces du royaume, tantôt avec mes domestiques et tantôt en compagnie de quelque ingénieur, j'ai souvent eu occasion de donner carrière à des réflexions et de remarquer le bon et le mauvais du pays; d'en examiner l'état et la situation, et celui des peuples, dont la pauvreté, ayant souvent excité ma compassion, m'a donné lieu d'en rechercher la cause....."

After such a statement concerning his long and practical experience, VAUBAN did not hesitate to state what he thought of the conditions existing in France.

"Je me sens obligé d'honneur et de conscience, de représenter à sa majesté qu'il m'a paru que de tout temps on n'avait pas eu assez d'égard en France pour le menu peuple, et qu'on en avait fait peu de cas; aussi c'est la partie la plus ruinée et la plus misérable du royaume." (1)

The trends and the spirit of Vauban are more interesting, no doubt, than the details of his writings.

The Abbé DE SAINT-PIERRE is generally known today as the author of the "Projet de paix perpétuelle" (1713-1717). But it should be remembered that this sensitive and mild priest was extremely audacious in his political and economic ideas. In 1718 he was excluded from the "Académie Française" because he criticized Louis XIV too bitterly. In 1717 he wrote a "Mémoire pour l'établissement d'une taille proportionnelle"; in 1718 a "Projet d'une taille tarifée", and in 1725 a "Mémoire pour augmenter le revenu des bénéfices". In short, he was primarily concerned, as was Vauban, with the "public utility".

(1) VAUBAN, "Projet d'une dîme royale", II partie, Ch. V., p.15. (Edit. 1888)

What has been the influence of these various reformers? According to M. MORNET their ideas spread but little and had no practical effect as far as contemporary politics were concerned. The political writings of Fénelon were still unpublished at that time. In return, it is noteworthy that it was possible to buy freely Locke, Grotius and Pufendorf, who had many readers. As a result, these foreign thinkers acted slowly but surely on the French intellectuals.

Meanwhile, the so-called "patriots", "citizens", "economists", urged by their feelings of patriotism, of pity, of humanity, evoked rational principles which later on were bound to lead to actual reforms.

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VII.

PROGRESSIVE FREEDOM IN THE DISCUSSION
OF PRACTICAL AND RATIONAL POLITICS

(1715-1750)

Practical and rational politics:
 main characteristics of the ideas
 expressed from 1715 to 1750.

MONTESQUIEU

1. "Lettres Persanes" (1721)
2. "Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur
 et de la décadence des Romains" (1734)
3. European travels - influence of England
4. "L'Esprit des Lois" (1748)
 - method
 - outline of his ideas
 - democratic government
 - aristocratic government
 - monarchical government
 - theory of relations between laws and
 climate
 - theory of relations between political
 constitutions and liberty
5. Reaction against English ideas as they were
 were expressed in the "Esprit des Lois" -
 originality of Montesquieu

VII.

PROGRESSIVE FREEDOM IN THE DISCUSSION
OF PRACTICAL AND RATIONAL POLITICS

(1715-1750)

Although religious thinkers and writers still proved to be extremely conservative, it may be said that in France, after 1750, political problems were freely discussed, provided such problems remained in the realm of abstraction, personal opinions being concealed behind skilful allusions or generalities. No doubt a contemporary of Louis XIV would have felt ill at ease in the atmosphere of such debates. A great change had indeed occurred and foreign influences brought pressure to bear on the questioning of political principles, their origin and motives which might be either their justification or their condemnation.

Much stress has been laid upon the rationalism of the 18th century. In reality, rationalism had been traditional in France, with its modern characteristics since the Renaissance. At this point philosophers of the 18th century had no conception of our modern methods of political dissertation. Historical records, as understood today, were at that time practically nonexistent. Consequently, "history" could be of little help. Even Voltaire, who has the reputation of being a pioneer in this field, overlooked psychological differences between people of different ages.

Voltaire had no precise political system. He had only partly organized ideas which were mainly in relation with contemporary realities. He rebelled against excesses and injustices in immediate need of reforms. MONTESQUIEU, on the other hand, went further into the process of rationalization, finding

its starting-point in historical developments and in the interpretation of experience as afforded by actual governments. Both Montesquieu and Voltaire illustrate the trends toward rational and practical politics, which are the characteristics of political thought up to the middle of the 18th century.

Everything was questioned, contested, shaken, after the death of Louis XIV, in the society in which Montesquieu was living. In his "Lettres Persanes" (1721), "he pictures a despotic monarch, ministers without plans, a precarious government, fallen Parlements, loose family bonds, jealousy among privileged classes, in a word, all the symbols of an imminent sinking of the régime." (1) On the other hand, this author expressed his admiration for the special taste of Frenchmen for work and their passion for equality. What a difference between a hard-working Paris and the delicacy of a Versailles! In the midst of such a situation, Montesquieu was a warm defender of freedom, but in this "his conception is and will always remain one of Roman liberty and of political virtue in the manner of Lycurgus." (2) He was vague at this period insofar as the origins and the foundation of law were concerned. The thorough examination of this problem was to come in the future. Nevertheless, already Montesquieu proved to be an excellent political observer, since the lineaments of his policy developed in the "Esprit des Lois" are to be found in the "Lettres Persanes".

"J'ai souvent recherché quel était le gouvernement le plus conforme à la raison. Il m'a semblé que le plus parfait est celui qui va à son but à moins de frais; de sorte que celui qui conduit les hommes de la manière qui convient le plus à leur penchant et à leur inclination est le plus parfait."

In spite of the fact that such conceptions were largely in keeping with

(1) Albert SOREL, "Montesquieu", p.33.

(2) Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.34.

the views of his contemporaries, Montesquieu was accused of being an impious man and almost a rebel.

In spite of adverse and bitter criticism, Montesquieu did not give up writing and in the year 1734 he published "Les considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains". After extensive travelling throughout Europe, Rome attracted him and kept him there a long time because it provided means for "a study of the most complete phenomenon of which history affords the observation." (1) In point of fact, "les considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains" is the research of the invariable sources of politics all through Roman history, with the help of Polybius, Tacitus, Florus, Machiavelli ("Discours sur Tite-Live"). The credit given by Montesquieu to the famous Florentine is formally proved by a former writing of his, "Dissertation sur la politique des Romains dans la religion" (1716), wherein are developed ideas dear to Machiavelli, namely, that Roman religion was just a prop serving the political purposes of those who were organizing the Republic and the credulity of the people was being exploited by Roman legislators.

But whatever may have been his admiration for Machiavelli, Montesquieu, differing from him in this particular, never lost sight of justice as an ideal, since to him an ideal, to be right, must correspond to ethical standards. It meant, in this regard, that a ruler ought never to fail in his word, even in behalf of the State. Loyalty, sincerity and honesty are essential virtues which must not be banished from the preoccupations of Princes. Nothing was more repellent to Montesquieu than patriotic falsehood. He held to the distinction, contrary to Machiavelli, between monarchy and despotism. To that

(1) Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.51.

extent Montesquieu's attitude was a reaction against the individualism of the Renaissance. (1)

Machiavelli was primarily preoccupied with what was termed later by Mirabeau the "pharmacie politique". Montesquieu, on the other hand, on account of his temperament, could not have been a diplomat according to the formula of the "Prince". Moreover, he was not interested in causations and not much concerned with institutions; the differences between ages did not impress him; he analyzed facts and from them elaborated plans for leadership. (2)

The Romans had been extolled several decades before by another historian, Bossuet. In his "Discours sur l'histoire universelle" (1681) he had emphasized his admiration for the Roman people, without showing blindness to their defects and their weak spots. The decadence of Rome is described by Bossuet with perspicacity and brilliancy. "Whatever Montesquieu may say again, he will never say anything more genuine, more animated, more solid." (3) But the methods of the two writers were different. Montesquieu was not interested in theology nor in teleology, as Bossuet primarily was. He explained his views as follows:

"Il y a des causes générales, soit morales, soit physiques, qui agissent dans chaque monarchie, l'élèvent, la maintiennent, ou la précipitent; tous les accidents sont soumis à ces causes; et si le hasard d'une bataille, c'est-à-dire une cause particulière, a ruiné un Etat, il y avait une cause générale qui faisait que cet Etat devait périr par une seule bataille: en un mot, l'allure principale entraîne avec elle tous les accidents particuliers." (4)

(1) cf. J. Roger CHARBONNEL, "La pensée italienne au XVI^{ème} siècle et le courant libertin", Paris, 1919.

(2) Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.52.

(3) BOSSUET, "Oeuvres choisies" (Calvet, publisher), pp.305-306.

(4) BOSSUET, eodem loco.

In his analysis of the genius of Rome and of the proceeds of the Roman conquests, he saw everywhere and at all times the State as a general motivation for their actions.

"Il semblait qu'il ne conquissent que pour donner: mais ils restaient si bien les maîtres, que, lorsqu'ils faisaient la guerre à quelque prince, ils l'accablaient, pour ainsi dire, du poids de tout l'univers." (1)

The attitude of Montesquieu appears always the same as far as the idea of the relation of cause and effect in history is concerned. For example, "He praises Brutus and goes so far as to discover in the political murder a rather criminal remedy but a remedy necessary to the 'coup d'Etat'. He condemns the Empire but at the same time points out that its fall was bound to occur. He thinks of Augustus and of his reign as of a senator who would have continued to extol the former Republic, even while admitting its present impracticability." (2)

Before going to England in 1729, Montesquieu had already studied certain political principles at great length. He was familiar with antiquity and with the history of his country as well. He revered Fénelon, the author of "Télémaque", wherein is described the perfect government, "Salente". His travels throughout Europe resulted in the lessening of his former republican conceptions and in strengthening his monarchical ideas. In 1721, when the "Lettres Persanes" were published, England was not one of his interests. When he landed on British soil "he was rather hostile and felt anything but sympathy for English government and temperament. He walled himself away from this very people for whom later on he could not express enough admira-

(1) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.54.

(2) Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.62.

tion. ... For a long time he refused to admit the wisdom of the British Constitution." (1)

Montesquieu's complete change of attitude toward England may be attributed to the then prevailing anglomania, to the prestige of English victories or to the English opposition to popery. Apparently, two more immediate factors accounted for the rapid evolution of Montesquieu, when he grew more familiar with English ideas: first, an hereditary one; he was the grandson of an Englishman; second, a purely French reaction - he was actually opposed to any arbitrary political régime. His frame of mind, in this connection, may possibly have been similar to that of exiled Huguenots living in London, opposed as they were to the despotism of Louis XIV. Montesquieu was a traditionalist, and a good citizen. He kept in his memory, and cherished, the French tradition of liberal monarchy, of a monarchy tempered by fundamental laws, by privileges and by Parlements. His standards of citizenship are featured in the following quotation:

"L'esprit du citoyen est de voir l'ordre dans l'Etat, de sentir de la joie dans la tranquillité publique, dans l'exacte administration de la justice, dans la sûreté des magistrats, dans la prospérité de ceux qui gouvernent, dans le respect rendu aux lois, dans la stabilité de la monarchie ou de la République. L'esprit du citoyen est d'aimer les lois, lors même qu'elles ont des cas qui nous sont invisibles et de considérer plutôt le bien général qu'elles nous font toujours, que le mal particulier qu'elles nous font quelquefois. L'esprit du citoyen est d'exercer avec zèle, avec plaisir, avec satisfaction cette espèce de magistrature qui, dans les corps politiques, est confiée à chacun: car il n'y a personne qui ne participe au gouvernement, soit dans son emploi, soit dans sa famille, soit dans l'administration de ses biens. Un bon citoyen ne songe jamais à faire sa fortune particulière que par les mêmes voies qui font la fortune publique. ..." (2)

(1) DEDIEU, "Montesquieu", pp.143-149.

(2) MONTESQUIEU, "Pensées inédites", p.618 - Quoted by CHÉREL, pp.312-313.

The political philosophy of Montesquieu went through a long and laborious process before being finally embodied to a large extent in his "Esprit des Lois" (1748). He avowed himself that he had been searching his method for a long time:

"J'ai d'abord examiné les hommes et j'ai cru que dans cette infime diversité de lois et de mœurs, il n'étaient pas uniquement conduits par leurs fantaisies." (1)

It was obvious to him that men in society obey certain laws and he defined laws as "the necessary relations deriving from the nature of things." The "nature of things" is here to be understood as the nature of a government, either republican, or aristocratic or monarchical. In other words, the principle underlying each government must be in keeping specially with the level of national culture and education. The basic purpose of laws is to create political liberties and to afford them guarantees. The supreme authority in the State or politically organized community is reason itself. Law alone must govern and law must be submitted to the proof of time. When a new law is necessary it must be deliberated at full length by several debating bodies. In this connection, in Montesquieu's conception of politics all metaphysical notions are eliminated and he turns to God as being the "ultima ratio".

Faith in the spirit of liberty is sufficient to secure devotion to public welfare. The maintenance of freedom requires the existence of intermediary powers and their separation. In the "Esprit des Lois" are examined the influence of factors such as climate, soil, "esprit général", customs of every country either visited by him or studied by him in books. But he strong-

(1) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.68.

ly inclined to generalize unduly and to rationalize. "No chronology, no perspective; all is placed on the same plane. Into legislation are brought the unity of time, of place, of action belonging to the classic theater. Laws, their object, their influence, their destiny, are only envisaged by Montesquieu: the rest is the foundation of his work but not the edifice itself." (1)

Democracy, to Montesquieu, is but an ideal which was conceived following the model of Athens, Lacedemonia and Rome. The moral conditions required for its existence are a profound feeling of social solidarity, a common conception of the interests and the needs of society, an equal devotion of everyone to public welfare. The basic principle and the support of democracy is virtue, that is, the love of the fatherland and love of equality: "Salus populi suprema lex esto". But this essential virtue is soon corrupted when citizens demand extreme equality.

"Le principe de la démocratie se corrompt non seulement lorsqu'on perd l'esprit d'égalité, mais encore quand on prend l'esprit d'égalité extrême et que chacun veut être égal à ceux qu'il choisit pour lui commander. ... Il ne peut plus y avoir de vertu dans la république." (2)

Aristocracies, as conceived by Montesquieu, are republics where sovereignty is in the hands of several individuals. This type of republic was still in existence at the time of Montesquieu in Venice and in Poland.

"Plus ces Etats ont de sureté, plus, comme des eaux tranquilles, ils sont sujets à se corrompre." (3)

When there is a great number of nobles, if corruption spreads among them the State is consequently weakened and its integrity is endangered.

(1) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., pp.87-89.

(2) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.90.

(3) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.96.

"Si une république est petite, elle est détruite par une force étrangère; si elle est grande, elle se détruit par un vice intérieur." (1)

Montesquieu considered democracy as a historical phenomenon and was far from imagining our modern democracies. He did, however, make a careful study of monarchy, apparently his preferred form of government. Monarchy, in which the King rules according to his fancy, is simply despotism. But true monarchy is characterized by fundamental laws. The King is the source of all political and civil power; he exercises this power through intermediary powers which have a subordinate and dependent status ("les pouvoirs intermédiaires, subordonnés et dépendants".) These intermediary powers have to moderate the King's will. ("La volonté momentanée et capricieuse d'un seul.") The King accordingly exercises the power with the nobility, the clergy, the body of magistrates; the latter are entitled to remind the Monarch, if necessary, of the existence of fundamental laws in the realm. If the hierarchy indicated above disappears it means either despotism or democracy. The essential political virtue in a monarchy is honor, understood as the love for the monarch and the attachment to privileges. The spirit of moderation, which must pervade the system, when corrupted, gives way to tyranny. In point of fact, Montesquieu "has given its most precise form to a huge movement of opinion which, since the beginning of the century up to the Revolution, looked within the history of France for the return of the 'fundamental laws' of monarchy." (2)

Montesquieu, furthermore, was concerned with the relations between constitutions and liberty. He dealt separately with the matter in a special book on the "Esprit des Lois" because, notes SOREL, "political freedom is in-

(1) Quoted by Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.96.

(2) David MORNET, "La pensée française au XVIIIème siècle", p.114.

deed consistent with several governments, but it is not necessarily connected with any of those with which it is consistent." (1)

As to political freedom, it is defined by Montesquieu:

"Le droit de faire tout ce que les lois permettent."

"La liberté ne peut consister qu'à pouvoir faire ce que l'on doit vouloir et à n'être point contraint à faire ce que l'on ne doit pas vouloir."

"La liberté est de vivre sous des lois stables."

In order that political freedom should exist, a citizen must first know his rights as well as his duties. When the law is silent, the individual will has to decide by itself. But if precision and stability of laws are to be maintained, it is indispensable that they should be protected against arbitrary authority, since the feeling of security is one of the essential elements of liberty. Where, then, is true liberty to be found?

"La liberté politique ne se trouve que dans les gouvernements modérés. Mais elle n'est pas toujours dans les gouvernements modérés; elle n'y est que lorsqu'on abuse pas du pouvoir. ... Pour qu'on ne puisse abuser du pouvoir, il faut que, par la disposition des choses, le pouvoir arrête le pouvoir."

Montesquieu's conception of a parliamentary constitution leads to the association of two elements: the theory of the division of powers into legislative, executive, judiciary power, and the theory of three forms of governments: royalty, aristocracy, democracy.

"Lorsque, dans la même personne, ou dans le même corps de magistrature, la puissance législative est réunie à la puissance exécutive, il n'y a point de liberté, parce qu'on peut craindre que le même monarque ou le même sénat ne fasse des lois tyranniques pour les exécuter tyranniquement."

"Il n'y a point de liberté si la puissance de juger n'est pas séparée de la puissance législative et de l'exécutive. Si elle était

(1) Albert SOREL, op. cit., p.101.

jointe à la puissance législative, le pouvoir sur la vie et la liberté des citoyens serait arbitraire, car le juge serait législateur. Si elle était jointe à la puissance exécutive, le juge pourrait avoir la force d'un oppresseur."

Montesquieu's system was certainly not an innovation, but to him England was the only country where a practical application of it existed. Therefore, he pointed to England as an example of a country where the constitution had political freedom as a direct goal. "It is proper to leave to Montesquieu the great glory of having traced a thorough portrait of this constitution, as powerful in its entirety as it is delicate in detail. But it would be unjust to forget that Montesquieu has improved above all on the model which was presented by John Locke and that this very model was far more than an outline." (1)

If they are compared, the methods of Montesquieu and Locke have nothing in common. At first Locke admitted that by a tacit contract men gave up and delegated to a ruler a part of their rights without alienating those rights which could not be alienated. As he wrote, "Whenever any number of men so unite into one society as to quit every one his executive power by the law of nature, and to resign it to the public, there and there only is a political or civil society." (2) And if the ruler does not fulfil his mission, the contract is violated. Revolution is the only means of redress. On the contrary, Montesquieu proved to be indifferent to the theory of social contract. His fundamental ambition was to render despotism impossible and to secure political liberty by several combinations, whereas Locke aimed at settling his great principle of popular sovereignty. Moreover, as far as the separa-

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.105.

(2) Quoted by Charles BASTIDE, "John Locke", p.233.

tion of powers is concerned, Montesquieu conceived it as complete and clearly settled since each of the three powers is delegated either to distinct persons or to distinct bodies. Locke, on the other hand, reserved to the people the legislative power, to which other powers are subordinated.

Though Montesquieu has been given credit for it, the defense of constitutionalism was not a new phenomenon in the history of political ideas in France. He was not a pioneer in the field, which would have been apparent had he been inclined to give his sources and references. The first brilliant exponent of constitutional monarchy was Jean BODIN. (1520-1596) Montesquieu simply overshadowed his predecessor. (1) It is probable that his originality, though undeniable, has been exaggerated to a certain degree. The details he borrowed from English writers have their origin in two thoughts: that of determining the relations of constitutions with political liberty, and that of fixing the relation of laws of climate and customs of a people.

The theory of the relations between laws and climate was not new. Bodin had already presented it. However, it was the source of violent opposition to the author of the "Esprit des Lois". "The error of Montesquieu is that he did not actually look for the influence of these elements. His notes on climate, gathered at random and very arbitrarily brought together, full of uncontrolled facts, mixed up with challenging and with ingenious remarks, would have provided material for a pleasant essay after the style of Montaigne. But Montesquieu aimed at building up a system; so far, the whole scaffolding fell to pieces." (2)

(1) Even today Jean BODIN seems to have been studied more carefully in England and in the United States than in France, where he is often just a name mentioned in the history of literature.

(2) Albert SOREL, *op. cit.*, pp.115-116.



In this connection, the ideas of Montesquieu on the theory of relations between laws and climate are to be explained primarily by his personal frame of mind. Around 1722 his main interest was in physical and natural sciences, resulting for him in a research for physical necessity, determinism. But since that time his thought had evolved to the extent of subscribing to a theory emphasizing the influence of moral rather than physical causation. But Montesquieu refused to realize that such a theory (on climate and laws) was bringing ruin to his masterpiece. (1) Contemporary events were responsible for Montesquieu's change of attitude and inconsistency. In 1728, and in 1732-33, two epidemics had caused considerable ravage throughout Europe. Inquiries made in Germany, in England and in France helped greatly the spreading of the idea of "climate" as a determining factor. It was presented, at least, as a plausible scientific explanation. Serious people were ready to believe that the atmosphere influenced national character. Hence, readjusting political methods was a matter of concern for many people around 1740. (2)

The "Esprit des Lois" no doubt popularized political ideas which up to that time had been debated among small groups. These political ideas were mainly English political ideas. The most striking fact is that just after the publication of the book, a profound reaction against English conceptions was to take place. Voltaire, Condorcet, Helvétius, J. J. Rousseau, Linguet, who, after 1760, appeared as the leaders of French public opinion, the

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.203.

(2) "L'essai sur les effets de l'Air" of John ARBUTHNOT, written in 1733, was translated into French in 1742. John Arbuthnot purported to make a synthesis of all the works on the matter. Starting from data adopted by scientists, he built at the same time a very interesting system of philosophy. The influence of this English medical doctor prevailed upon the author of the "Esprit des Lois".

spokesmen for French thought, were violently prejudiced against the English governmental system.

This chauvinistic attitude draws a line between the more or less academic debates of the first part of the 18th century and the formation of revolutionary theories during the second part of the same century. Voltaire was a decided adversary of the French Parlements, because they were checking royal authority. The France of the Ancient Régime was the only country in Europe where magistracy was independent. Montesquieu, a magistrate himself, admired and defended this independence. On the contrary, Voltaire thought this independence a shame. Let us recall that his "Lettres Philosophiques" had been condemned by the Parlement of Paris. On the other hand, most Parlementaires were Jansenists and Voltaire hated Jansenists. To him a judge was merely an official under immediate royal control. Rousseau wanted judicial functions to be temporary. It would have meant - no judiciary power, no judiciary career. "The judge, a probationer deputy. Here is the exact definition of Rousseau's system. A judicial career will be an electoral campaign." (1) Montesquieu was convinced that intermediary bodies and middle classes were as a matter of fact opposed to despotism. Voltaire, on the contrary, was despotic. He hated William III because, according to him, he had discredited royal authority by a disgraceful contract and had confirmed the majesty of the Parliamentary system.

Great Britain, up to the middle of the 18th century, had been presented to the French people as a prosperous country and as an example of all human virtues. These moral and civic virtues were attributed to political institutions. Henceforth, the adversaries of the "Esprit des Lois" pointed out that

(1) E. FAGUET, "Politique comparée", p.126.

England was a desolated and poor country. When new comparisons were drawn up they were obviously against England because France was held superior to all nations. Two writers worked to destroy the conventional idea of the British virtue: GENEST, a Frenchman, and BROWN, an Englishman.

GENEST wrote fifteen volumes between 1755 and 1762: "La vérité révélée", (1755), "L'Etat politique de l'Angleterre" (ten volumes; 1757-1759), "Le petit catéchisme politique des Anglais" (1758), "Essais historiques sur l'Angleterre" and "Lettre au Comte de Bute" (1761), and "Nouvelle lettre au Comte de Bute" (1762). Throughout these prolific writings, Great Britain was presented as being worried by domestic troubles. Genest believed in an imminent catastrophe; a political crisis was bound to follow the economic difficulties. The Englishman, in his view, being selfish, has no friends and is odious to foreigners. His aim is wealth and he has no scruples as to how he acquires it. Brown's book was translated into French at the same time, under the title of "Critique des moeurs et des principes de ce temps", to which an answer was given by BERKELEY: "Caractéristique de l'état politique du royaume de la Grande-Bretagne". The effect of Brown's book was to change the ideas commonly admitted concerning Great Britain. "From admiration of a virtuous England, nothing is left, after this reading, except shame at having been so credulous. ... Up to the end of the century we find the influence of Brown; it reigns to a sovereign degree." (1) Henceforth it was believed that the parliamentary system was at the root of public immorality, since Candidates to Parliament as well as electors were held to be corrupt.

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., pp.371-373.

The hatred against the English and especially against their political institutions explains to a certain extent Montesquieu's reputation as a "reptile philosophique". (Linguet). The French mind, in all its shades and contrasts, is indeed difficult to understand and Montesquieu had the curiosity of the scholar and of the historian. Craving for order, method, and consistence, he wanted to explain to himself and to others the prodigious diversity of nature, he wanted to extricate rules out of apparent confusion.

In conclusion, "Strange as it may seem, Montesquieu taught nothing to his contemporaries that they did not already know. He is an echo, a marvelously powerful one, of that huge movement of ideas, which, for more than sixty years, attempted to discover the basis of liberty and which was apparently finding it in the English government. He is a disciple of this long tradition." (1) This research worker, who at first was interested in experimental sciences, proved to be independent in his judgment. He had none of Pascal's taste for metaphysics and none of his pessimism, but, like the author of the "Pensées", he had brought back from a long intercourse with Antiquity the taste for great things. The most beautiful pages are those in which he presents the founders of Empires. (2) Montesquieu, a true man of the 17th century, both by his education and by his passionate conviction of the prerogatives of Parlement, aimed at finding the universal man. Being a literary citizen of the ancient Rome, Montesquieu had no national selfishness. When traveling through Germany and remarking her weaknesses, he thought of the remedies for the situation through a reform of her constitution and by gathering her forces through federalism. Finally, as a monarchist who would not foresee any other possible government for France than monarchy, he had empha-

(1) DEDIEU, op. cit., p.201.

(2) cf. Albert SOREL, "Montesquieu", passim.

sized as a basis for such a regime the spirit of moderation. And as a matter of fact, moderation does not impassion, does not excite enthusiasm.

VIII.

CONCLUSION

In 1751 D'ALEMBERT and DIDEROT initiated the publication of the "ENCYCLOPEDIE", a huge enterprise of bookselling and of philosophic propaganda. The "Encyclopédie" was decidedly against the divine rights of Kingship and was not afraid to proclaim and to emphasize the rights of subjects. A constitution was declared to be desirable. Restriction of upper-class privileges and the establishment of civil liberty were demanded. But the idea of equality was flatly rejected. When leaving the field of pure theory, philosophers refused to face the logical and practical consequences of their conceptions. (1)

In doing their best to ruin authority, tradition and faith, the "philosophes" extolled positive creeds, the visible against the invisible, all that is seen, touched or made as opposed to abstractions. They expressed their absolute confidence in progress toward an ideal of political and intellectual freedom. Those "philosophes" still living during the French Revolution were surprised and even scandalized at certain events; their disciples were reformers acting more or less under their influence.

For example, Montesquieu, who had not foreseen the Revolution of 1789, helped to contribute to its preparation. Every political party extracted from the "Esprit des Lois" certain maxims and found certain precedents to support their wishes and their pretensions. However, Montesquieu, who often inspired revolutionaries, did not direct morally the course of the Revolution.

(1) cf. Daniel MORNET, "La pensée française au XVIIIème siècle", p.118.

After August 4, 1789, his conception of monarchy was considered out of date. He became involuntarily the prophet of an equalitarian democracy and of a republic conceived after the model of Rome. ROBESPIERRE, SAINT-JUST, Charlotte CORDAY, nevertheless, meant to materialize what Montesquieu had written in this connection. BONAPARTE himself held Montesquieu and his admirers in high esteem, to the point of entrusting the latter with judicial and administrative offices. The editors of the famous "Code Civil" were undoubtedly among those who knew and appreciated Montesquieu's writings.

ROUSSEAU, however, secured more followers. It is significant that the author of the "Social Contract" did not consider this book as one of his essential interests, since to him it had been "a mere exercise of the mind, an effort headed toward the organization of his ideas." (1) The proof is that when he abandoned speculation and prepared a project of constitution for the Poles and Corsicans, he did not bother to make any reference to a social contract, an established religion, nor to dictatorial measures in view of protecting this pact.

When looking for the basis of political power in the State, Rousseau understood that originally, in the state of nature, anterior to the formation of societies, there existed an absolute independence and liberty. But a contract precisely brings to an end this so-called state of nature and creates as a consequence a power superior to individual wills, namely, political authority. The ensemble of those who signed the social contract is the titular of this supreme political power. This collective being cannot alienate sovereignty. It results - and this is the most significant fact - that

(1) Daniel MORNET, "La pensée française au XVIIIème siècle", p.115.

people cannot alienate sovereignty; the King is simply the "commis du peuple"; the old idea of a contract between the people and the King no longer exists in this system. During the French Revolution jurists advertised this assumption that the NATION, being a moral person, a juridical entity, is the titular of sovereignty. In other words, the nation was presented as having an existence distinct from the members composing it. It is probable that Louis XIV never said "L'Etat, c'est moi", but true or not this phrase expressed the concept of a King embodying the idea of State. When the King as an individual was suppressed, his place had to be filled and it has been filled by the Nation, conceived as a moral person having a will of its own. The doctrine of a "NATION-PERSONNE", expressing its will through the channel of law, refers to a mere juridical fiction, and political theory is encumbered with an undemonstrated and undemonstrable dogma, which does not explain the legitimacy of political authority.

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DIGEST

The history of the French Revolution, in its political, economic and intellectual origins, has retained the interest of many, but with a special emphasis on the decades immediately preceding 1789. (Ex. Daniel MORNET, "Les origines intellectuelles de la Révolution française", 1930.)

During a century from 1660 to 1760, that is to say from the beginning of the personal reign of Louis XIV up to the eve of the publication by Rousseau of his "Social Contract" in 1762, under the impact of changing social conditions and of foreign ideas, there was operated a profound, if slow, evolution among thinking people. It meant no less than the ideological ruin in France of the theory of divine right of Kings.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the theoretical developments in France of political conceptions during a century, which, after all, represent but one aspect and one phase of the rise of the middle-class, starting around 1642 and ending with the Russian Revolution of 1905.

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"Dictionnaire historique et critique" (3rd edition)
4 volumes. Rotterdam, 1720.

BOSSUET, Jacques-Bénigne (1627-1704)

"Correspondance"
(Edition published by Charles Urbain et Lévesque)
15 volumes. Paris, 1909-1925.

FENELON, François de Salignac de la Mothe (1651-1715)

"Oeuvres"
22 volumes. Versailles.

JAMES I. (1566-1625)

"The Political Works of James I"
"Reprinted from the edition of 1616, with an introduction
by Charles Howard McIlwain"
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LEIBNITZ, Gottfried Wilhelm (1646-1716)

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LOCKE, John (1632-1704)

"Four Letters on Toleration"
1 volume. London, 1870.

"Two Treatises on Government: Preceded by Sir Robert Filmer's 'Patriarchia' with an Introduction by Henry Moley"
1 volume. London, 1884.

MONTESQUIEU, Charles de Secondat (1689-1755)

"Oeuvres complètes" (Published by Decker)
8 volumes. Paris, 1799.

RACINE, Jean (1639-1699)

"Abrégé de l'histoire de Port-Royal"
In "Oeuvres diverses" (Répertoire général du Théâtre français)
2 volumes. Paris, 1821.

VAUBAN, Sébastien Le Prestre (1633-1707)

"Projet d'une dîme royale"
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COCHET, Marie-Anne

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1 volume. Paris, 1933.

CHINARD, Gilbert

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D'AVENEL, Georges

"La fortune privée à travers sept siècles"
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"Le dix-huitième siècle"
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"Politique comparée de Montesquieu, Rousseau et Voltaire"
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"Studien über den Einfluss der aristotelischen Philosophie auf die
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"Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation. Eine Untersuchung der vorreformationistischen Bedeutung des Laien-einfluss in der Kirche"
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"Pierre Dubois und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen
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"L'Education politique de Louis XIV"
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"Recherches sur l'Esprit politique de la Réforme"
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"La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du Moyen-Age"

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"The Cult of Antiquity and the French Revolutionary Spirit"

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"La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France"

1 volume. Paris, 1933.

PUAUX, Frank

"Les presurseurs français de la tolérance au XVIIème siècle"

1 volume. Paris, 1881.

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"Français et Allemands" (a history of their cultural relations)

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1 volume. Paris, 1892.

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DE LA BRIÈRE, Yves

"L'emploi de la force au service de la vraie religion"

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"Les formes modernes de l'intolérance"

May 5, 1932.

"Les idées religieuses de Condorcet: L'Eglise et l'Etat"

April 5, 1932.

"Les théories démocratiques au Moyen-Age"

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"Histoire des doctrines politiques de Pierre Dubois à Thomas
Hobbes"

May 20, 1936.

1871

Jan 1st. To the Hon. Secy of the Interior
Washington D.C.

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th inst. in relation to the application of the late John A. Smith for a grant of land in the State of California.

I am sorry to hear of the death of Mr. Smith, and am sure that his family will be able to take care of his interests.

I have no objection to the grant of land to his heirs, and will be glad to see the application made out in due form.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
J. M. Smith

BOSTON UNIVERSITY



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